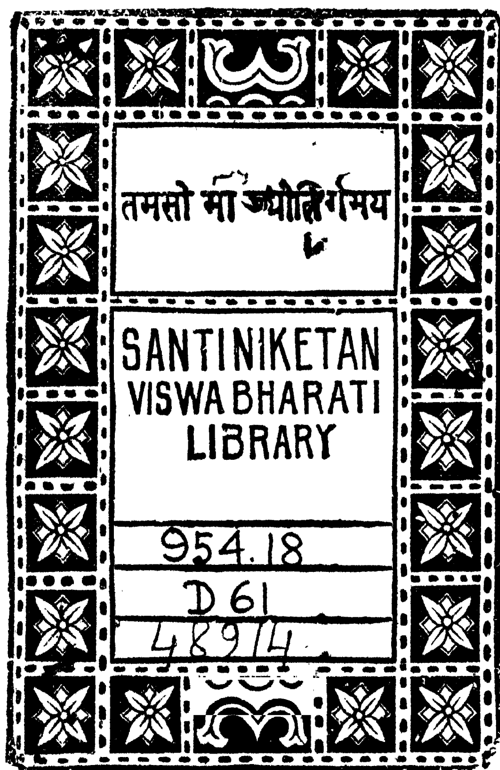

तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय
SANTINIKETAN
VISWA BHARATI
LIBRARY
954.18
D 61
48914

THE SUCCESSORS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

THE
SUCCESSORS OF THE SATAVAHANAS
IN LOWER DECCAN

BY

DINESCHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., PH.D.
(PREMCHAND ROYCHAND SCHOLAR)
LECTURER IN THE DEPARTMENT OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE,
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY



PUBLISHED BY THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA
1939

PRINTED IN INDIA

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY BHUPENDRALAL BANERJEE
AT THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS, SENATE HOUSE, CALCUTTA.

C. U. Press—Reg. No. 1067B—Jan., 1939—E.

To

Dr. Ṣyamaprasad Mookerjee

with the author's grateful
regard and esteem

have been incorporated in the *Addenda et Corrigenda.* My thanks are due to Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, the illustrious Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University (1934-38), and to Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University. The encouragement of Dr. Mookerjee and the valuable suggestions of Prof. Raychaudhuri have been of great help to me in writing the following pages. My acknowledgments are also due to Mr. J. Chakravorti, Registrar, Calcutta University, and to Mr. D. Ganguli, Superintendent of the Calcutta University Press.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY,
20th December, 1938.

D. C. SIRCAR

CONTENTS

PART II

Western Districts

Chapter I

The Early Kadambas : Mayūraśarman's Line

Chapter II

The Early Kadambas : Kṛṣṇavarman's Line

Chapter III

The Early Kadambas : Miscellaneous Lines

CHAPTER IV

The Kekayas

ABBREVIATIONS

An. Bhand. Or. Res. Ins.=*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona.

Anc. Geog. Ind.=*Ancient Geography of India*, by Cunningham (ed. S. N. Majumdar), Calcutta, 1924.

Anc. Hist. Dec.=*Ancient History of the Deccan*, by G. Jouveau-Dubreuil (English translation), Pondicherry, 1920.

An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.=*Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy*, Madras.

Arch. Sur. $\frac{S.}{W.}$ *Ind.*=*Archæological Survey of* $\frac{\textit{Southern}}{\textit{Western}}$ *India.*

As. Res.=*Asiatic Researches.*

Bhandarkar's List=*A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, by D. R. Bhandarkar. Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, XIX-XXIII.

Bomb. Gaz.=*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency.*

Br.=*Brāhmaṇa.*

Camb. Hist. Ind.=*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, ed. E. J. Rapson, 1923.

Corp. Ins. Ind.=*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, ed. J. F. Fleet, Calcutta, 1888.

Dyn. Kan. Dist.=*The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, by J. F. Fleet in *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Part II.

E. Hist. Dek.=*Early History of the Dekkan*, by R. G. Bhandarkar in *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Part II.

E. Hist. Ind.=*Early History of India*, by V. A. Smith, 4th ed., 1924.

Ep. Carn.=*Epigraphia Carnatica.*

Ep. Ind.=*Epigraphia Indica*, Calcutta.

Geog. = Geography.

Ind. Ant. = *Indian Antiquary.*

Ind. Cult. = *Indian Culture*, Calcutta.

Ind. Hist. Quart. = *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.

J. A. S. B., N. S. = *Journal of the [Royal] Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series)*, Calcutta.

J. B. B. R. A. S. = *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

J. B. O. R. S. = *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society*, Patna.

Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc. = *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Rajahmundry.

Journ. Dep. Let. = *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University.

Journ. Ind. Hist. = *Journal of Indian History*, Madras.

J. R. A. S. = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London.

Keilhorn's $\frac{N}{S}$ List = *A List of the Inscriptions of* $\frac{\textit{Northern}}{\textit{Southern}}$ *India*, by Keilhorn. Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, V, VII.

Lüders's List = *A List of the Brāhmī Inscriptions*, by Lüders. Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, X.

Mahābh. = *Mahābhārata.*

Mys. Arch. Sur., A. R., = *Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Survey.*

Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind. = *Political History of Ancient India*, by H. C. Raychaudhuri, Calcutta University, 1927.

Pur. = *Purāṇa.*

Quart. Journ. Myth. Soc. = *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore.

Rām. = *Rāmāyaṇa.*

Rapson's Catalogue = *Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum*, by E. J. Rapson, London, 1908.

S. B. E. = *Sacred Books of the East.*

Sewell's List = *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, by R. Sewell, Madras University, 1932.

S. Ind. Ins. = *South Indian Inscriptions.*

Smith's Catalogue = *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, I. Calcutta, by V. A. Smith, Oxford, 1906.

Śr. Sūt. = *Śrauta-Sūtra.*

Z. D. M. G. = *Zeitschrift der Morgenlandischen Gesselschaft.*

INTRODUCTION

The aim of the author of the present volume is to give a detailed account of the dynasties that ruled in Lower Deccan after the decline of the Sātavāhanas till the country was conquered by the Calukyas. The volume has been divided into two parts ; Part I deals with the Eastern Districts, that is to say, the Andhra region, and Part II with the Western Districts, that is, the Karṇāṭa region. In the second volume of this work, which is in course of preparation, the author proposes to deal with the dynasties that succeeded the Sātavāhanas in Upper Deccan.

The term *Deccan* has been used in this work in a limited sense. It is a familiar corruption of the Sanskrit word *dakṣiṇa* meaning south. It " may be, and sometimes is, extended so as to cover the whole of India south of the Narmadā ; but is usually understood as designating a more limited territory in which Malabar and the Tamil countries of the extreme south are not included " (Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, 4th ed., p. 439). The Nanaghat record which describes the husband of Nāganikā as *dakshiṇāpatha-pati*, a Nasik inscription in which Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi is called *dakṣiṇāpath-eśvara* and the Junagad inscription in which the Sātavāhana contemporary of Rudradāman (*c.* 130-150 A.D.) is called *dakṣiṇāpatha-pati* appear to prove that the Sātavāhanas called themselves " lord of the Deccan." There is however absolutely no proof that the Far South was ever under the direct possession of the Sātavāhana kings. Dakṣiṇāpatha, over which the Sātavāhanas claimed suzerainty, thus appears to signify the Deccan in a limited sense.

In the eastern part of Lower Deccan, the direct rule of the Sātavāhanas seems not to have extended far beyond the Andhra

country, that is to say, beyond the Telugu-speaking area. In the western part, the Cuṭu Śātakarṇi branch of the Sātavāhana dynasty is known to have ruled over the country which had Banavāsī (in the North Kanara district) for its capital, that is to say, over the northern part of the modern Kanarese-speaking area.

The Andhra people and their country are mentioned many times in literature ; but history of the Andhra region, based on epigraphic evidence, only begins from the third century B.C., *i.e.*, the time of the Maurya emperor Aśoka. At the time of Aśoka, Lower Deccan formed a part of the Maurya empire and the Maurya frontier certainly extended in the south as far as the Pennar river near Nellore, as only the Tamil kingdoms of the Ceras, Colas and the Pāṇḍyas have been distinguished as *pracaṃta* (border state) from the *vijita* (dominions) of the king, and as Aśokan inscriptions have been found on rocks as far south as the Chitaldrug district of Mysore. The Andhras are mentioned in the thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśoka in the list of subordinate peoples that lived in the dominions (*idha rāja-visayaṃhi*) of the king. After the strength of the Maurya empire had waned, the people of Andhradeśa appears to have assumed independence.

A king named Kubiraka (= Kubera)[1] has been mentioned in two inscriptions discovered at Bhattiprolu in the Repalle taluka of the Guntur district (Lüders, *List*, Nos. 1335, 1338). According to Bühler (*J.R.A.S.*, 1892, p. 602), the Bhattiprolu inscriptions belong to the period immediately following that of Aśoka, *i.e.*, to about 200 B.C. It is therefore possible that king Kubiraka fought successfully with the weak successors of Aśoka who died sometime before 230 B.C., and liberated the Andhra country from the Maurya yoke. Unfortunately we know next to nothing about this king.

[1] In *Mahābh*, Kuberaka is called the "calf" of the Puṇya-jana (the Yakṣas), attendants of Kubera (Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 148).

Epigraphy is silent as regards the Andhra country for a long time after Kubiraka. Only about the second century of the Christian era we find the country occupied by kings belonging to the family known in epigraphy as the Sātavāhana. A number of coins and inscriptions of the Later Sātavāhanas has been discovered in the Andhra region. The most powerful among them were Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi and Gautamīputra Yajña Śātakarṇi. The date of these kings is a disputed question ; but two points seem certain in this respect. (1) King Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi could not be far removed in time from (but was possibly for some time a contemporary of) the Śaka Satrap Rudradāman who is known to have ruled from *c*. 130 to *c*. 150 A.D. The mention of Baithana (Paithan in the Aurangabad district) as the capital of Siriptolemaios (siri-Pulumāvi, contemporary of Tiastênes = Caṣṭana who for some time ruled conjointly with his grandson Rudradāman) by Ptolemy (*c*. 140 A.D.) is also very important in ascertaining the date of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi in about the middle of the second century A.D. (2) According to the evidence of palaeography, there could not have been a great interval between the reign of Pulumāvi and that of Yajña. The suggestion of Krishnasastri that the second year of Candra Sāti (a successor of Yajña) is equivalent to A.D. 210 is also important in this connection. It is therefore very probably certain that Yajña ended his rule not long after A. D. 200, and Yajña was the last great king of his dynasty (see *infra*, Sections I and III of the chapter on the Pallavas).

The local ruling families of South-Eastern Deccan either ruling as subordinate rulers or governors, such as the Śālaṅkāyanas, Bṛhatphalāyanas, Pallavas and the Ikṣvākus who remained loyal to the Sātavāhanas at the time of Pulumāvi and Yajña Sātakarṇi appear to have gradually raised their head and supplanted the weak successors of Yajña. From

palaeographic consideration it appears that the Ikṣvākus were the first to grow powerful in the Kistna-Guntur region and to throw off Sātavāhana suzerainty about the third decade of the third century. The performance of Aśvamedha, Vājapeya and other Vedic sacrifices by the Ikṣvāku king Cāṃtamūla I clearly shows that the Ikṣvākus were no longer feudatory to the Sātavāhanas who were therefore ousted from the Kistna-Guntur area before the time of this king. The successors of the Ikṣvākus in the sovereignty of this area appear to have been the Bṛhatphalāyanas and the Pallavas. The Pallavas became very powerful about the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century. The earliest Pallava epigraphs which appear to belong to the first half of the fourth century show that the Pallavas were at the time master of Andhrāpatha as well as the Bellary region. Pallava headquarters in the Andhra country at the time of Śivaskandavarman, a performer of Aśvamedha and other sacrifices, were at Dhaṃñakaḍa (Dhānyakaṭaka). Their supremacy in Andhradeśa appears to have broken down owing to the rise of the Śālaṅkāyanas of Veṅgī (W. Godavari district) and the Ānandas of Kandarapura (Guntur district). Devavarman, the Śālaṅkāyana performer of the Aśvamedha sacrifice, possibly reigned not long after Pallava Śivaskandavarman. The evidence of the Kanteru plates proves that the Later Śālaṅkāyanas became master of much of the territories that were once under the Ikṣvākus, Bṛhatphalāyanas and the Pallavas. After the collapse of the Śālaṅkāyana power, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins gradually became master of the whole of Andhradeśa. When the Calukyas established themselves at Piṣṭapura in the beginning of the seventh century, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins appear to have struggled hard with them for existence. But gradually their power collapsed and the country passed to the possession of the Calukyas.

It must not however be thought that these dynasties appeared one after another on the political stage of the

Andhra country. The Śālaṅkāyanas, as we shall see, were most probably in possession of the district round Veṅgī even in the age of Ptolemy (*c.* 140), when the Sātavāhanas were apparently the suzerain of Andhradeśa. The Greek geographer possibly also refers to the capital of the Bṛhatphalāyanas in the present Masulipatam area. Excepting the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, all the earlier dynasties that reigned in South-Eastern Deccan after the Sātavāhanas seem to have ruled more or less contemporaneously.

In Part I of the present volume, I have given an account of the Ikṣvākus, Bṛhatphalāyanas, Ānandas, Śālaṅkāyanas and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. I have also dealt with the Pallavas who were for some time the supreme power in Andhradeśa.

In Part II of this volume, I have tried to give an account of the dynasties that succeeded the Sātavāhanas in the western part of Lower Deccan. From the breakdown of the Cuṭu Śātakarṇi power up to the rise of the Calukyas, the principal ruling dynasty in South-Western Deccan was that of the Kadambas. I have not included in this account the history of the Gaṅgas and the Bāṇas who ruled from places far to the south of the country ruled by the Sātavāhanas. I have included however the Kekayas who ruled in the northern part of Mysore, which most probably formed a part of the later Sātavāhana dominions. Since my account is limited in *circa* 200-650 A.D., I have not discussed a few minor feudatory families (*e.g.*, the Sendrakas) whose early history is wrapped up in obscurity.

In placing this work before students of Indian history, I humbly request them to consider the new points I have been able to light upon in these pages. I have tried to establish a relation between the two known Ānanda kings on the basis of the passage *hiraṇyagarbh-odbhav-odbhava* of the Mattepad plates. I have also tried to settle the genealogy and chronology of the Śālaṅkāyanas and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, in which, as

I have shown, mistakes have been made permanent by previous writers. The theory of the existence of a king called Sana in the Kistna district in the second or third century A.D. has been discussed and found to be untenable. The date of Pallava Śivaskandavarman has been fixed on the basis of the gradual development of inscriptional Prakrit in early South Indian inscriptions. In dealing with the [Early] Pallavas and the [Early] Kadambas, I have tried not to be led astray from the *terra firma* of solid facts by that eagerness for theorising which is so common among certain recent writers on the early history of those dynasties. The real significance of the passage *hiraṇyagarbh-odbhava* has been correctly pointed out. In interpreting terms like *āyukta*, *vallabha, hastikośa, vyāpṛta adhikāra-puruṣa* and others, I have spared no pains to utilise epigraphic as well as lexicographic and classical literature to the full. I have also made full use of the Epic, Purāṇic and Smṛti literature in explaining passages like *avasita-vividha-divya*, *hiraṇyagarbha* and others.

PART I

EASTERN DISTRICTS

CHAPTER I

THE IKṢVĀKUS

I

THE SOUTHERN IKṢVĀKUS.

Some Prakrit [1] inscriptions of the Ikṣvākus of Eastern Deccan have been discovered at Jaggayyapetta in the Nandigram taluka of the Kistna district (*Ind. Ant.*, XI, p. 257 ff.), and at Nagarjunikonda in the Palnad taluka of the Guntur district (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 1 ff.) of the Madras Presidency. Formerly, Burgess expressed the opinion that these inscriptions belong to about the 3rd or 4th century A.D. " but are probably earlier." Bühler and, following him, Vogel who has recently edited the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions ascribe the Ikṣvāku records to the 3rd century of the Christian era. Like all early Prakrit inscriptions, the Nagarjunikonda and Jaggayyapetta records of the Ikṣvākus express compound consonants with single letters. This characteristic shows that these records are earlier than the Early Pallava grants which express double or conjunct consonants by more than one letter and appear to belong to about the first quarter of the 4th century A.D. (see my views in *Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 498 ff. ; *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, p. 297 ff. ; and *infra*). The Ikṣvāku inscriptions, therefore, almost certainly belong to about the middle and second half of the 3rd century A.D. (*vide infra*).

[1] Regarding the language of the Nagarjunikonda records, Sten Konow observes (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 26), " We are faced with a normalised semiliterary Prakrit used by people whose home-tongue was Dravidian, and probably Kanarese. If I am right, we should *a priori* be inclined to infer that the Ikṣhvākus had come to the Kistna country from the West."

Ikṣvāku as the name of a king possibly occurs once in the *Ṛgveda* (X. 60.4). The word there may, however, be also taken as an epithet of the name of another person, Asamāti, whom the *Jaminīyabrāhmaṇa* (III. 167), *Bṛhaddevatā* (VII. 35 ff.), etc., take to be an Ikṣvāku prince. Ikṣvāku in the *Atharvaveda* (XIV. 39.9) seems to be regarded as an ancient hero. According to Macdonell and Keith (*Ved. Ind.*, s.v.) the Ikṣvākus were originally a branch of the Puru family. Zimmer places them (*Alt. Leben*, pp. 104, 130) on the Upper Indus ; the *Vedic Index*, however, thinks that the Ikṣvākus may well have been somewhat further east even in the Vedic period. Later Ikṣvākus are connected chiefly with Ayodhyā the capital of the Kośala *janapada*. We have long lists of Ikṣvāku kings in the Purāṇas and the epics But we do not know of any relation between the Ikṣvākus of Ayodhyā and the Ikṣvākus of the Madras Presidency. Were the Southern Ikṣvākus a branch of the famous Ikṣvāku family of Northern India, which migrated and eventually carved out a principality in Eastern Deccan ?

It is possible that the epithet *ikhāku-rāja-pravara-risi-sata-pabhava-vaṃsa-saṃbhava*, applied to Lord Buddha in an inscription of the Southern Ikṣvāku king Virapurisadata, refers to a claim of the king to belong to the same family as the Lord who, according to traditions, belonged to the famous Ikṣvāku family of Kośala (*Majjhima-Nikāya*, II. 124).[1] It is also interesting to note that the Southern Ikṣvākus were matrimonially related to the Southern Kekayas, as indeed, according to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the Ikṣvākus of Ayodhyā were to the Kekayas of Girivraja in the Punjab. But, in considering the question of the relation between the Northern and the Southern Ikṣvākus, we have also to remember the views of Caldwell regarding the nature of the Aryanisation

[1] *Cf.* also *Śaka-vṛkṣa-praticchannaṃ vāsaṃ yasmāc=ca cakrire, tasmād=ikṣvāku-vaṃśyās=te bhuvi śākyā=iti smṛtāḥ* (Aśvaghoṣa, *Saundaranandakāvya*, I. 24).

of South India. "The Aryan immigrants to the South," he says, "appear to have been Brahmanical priests and instructors, rather than Kshatriya soldiers, and the kings of the Pāṇḍyas, Cholas, Kalingas, and other Dravidians, appear to have been chiefly Dravidian chieftains whom their Brahmanical preceptors and spiritual directors dignified with Aryan titles, and taught to imitate and emulate the grandeur and cultivated tastes of the Solar, Lunar and the Agnikula races of kings" (*Comp. Gramm.*, 2nd ed., Intro., p. 115). This view is certainly correct in some cases. As we know, the Hadis of Mymensingh (Bengal), a tribe closely allied to the Garos, have, only the other day, been allowed to wear *upavīta* and to bear the ancient and illustrious name of the Haihaya Kṣatriyas.[1] It is therefore not easy to determine whether the Southern Ikṣvākus were actually Aryan immigrants from the north (which is not impossible) or a Hinduised aboriginal family of rulers who appropriated the name of the most glorious royal family of ancient India.[2] The question is, moreover, a little further

[1] It is to be noticed that at present the population of Eastern and Southern India is generally divided not into four but only into two *varṇas*, *viz.*, Brāhmaṇa and Śūdra. In Eastern India has, however, now come an age when nobody likes to remain a Śūdra. For a list of aboriginal tribes claiming the status of Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya, see *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. V (Bengal and Sikkim), Pt. I. pp 426-27. If, however, the Āguris are Ugra-Kṣatriya, the Bāgdis are Vyāgra-Kṣatriya, the Namaḥ-Śūdras are Namo-Brāhmaṇa and the Nāpits are Nai (or Savitṛ) Brāhmaṇa, as we have it there in the list, may not the Musalmans, Christians and the Japanese (or Javanese) as well claim to be called Muṣala-Kṣatriya, Kliṣṭa (or Kṛṣṇa)-Kṣatriya and Yavana-Brāhmaṇa respectively?

[2] The extension of the name of "Kośala," where the Ikṣvākus ruled, over the modern Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region in the Dakṣiṇāpatha (*cf. kauśalaka-mahendra* mentioned as a *dakṣiṇāpatha-rāja* in the Allahabad pillar inscription) and the tradition recording the establishment of Kuśa, son of the Ikṣvāku hero Rāma, at Kuśavatī to the south of the Vindhya and the Revā (*Raghuvaṃśa*, XVI. 31) probably go to prove a southerly course of Ikṣvāku expansion. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (99, 199), Kuśa ruled over Kośala with his capital at Kuśasthalī or Kuśavatī built upon the Vindhyan precipices. It may also be noticed that the southern kingdoms of Aśmaka and Mulaka (on the Godāvarī) were traditionally known to have been founded by two Ikṣvāku princes named Aśmaka and Mulaka (*Vāyu Pur.*, 88, 177-8). The history of the Ikṣvāk

complicated by the points brought to our notice by Przyluski in an interesting paper in the *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique*, 1926, p. 83.[1]

The Sanskrit word *ikṣvāku* means "gourd." It is interesting that some Austro-Asiatic peoples call themselves issue either of a gourd or a melon, of which every seed gave birth to a man (Bonifacy, *Cours d'ethnographie indo-chinois*, p. 45 ; Cochbrane, *The Shans*, I, p. 120). This myth seems to have passed into Indian tradition, in which Sumati, queen of king Sagara of Ayodhyā (to whom 60,000 sons were promised), gave birth to a gourd, and from that gourd came out 60,000 children (*Rām.*, I. 38 ; *Mahābhā.*, III. 106 ; *Bhāg. Pur.*, IX. 88). The Austro-Asiatic myth of gourd-ancestor seems to have been transmitted in the legends of Sumati and Ikṣvāku who have been placed at Ayodhyā. But as is often the case in Indian literature, it appears that, in the second case, the authors have modified the myth for

Kekayas, Mālavas, Śibis, Guptas, Mauryas and the Aśmakas and stories of the sons of Viśvāmitra, and of Rāma, Vijaya, the sage Bāvari and others may all be very important in dealing with the Aryanisation of Southern India. But while we have reliable evidence of the migration of the Mālavas (=Maloi of the Greeks ; on the lower valley of the Rāvi in Alexander's time) and the Śibis (=Siboi of the Greeks ; in Alexander's time in the Shorkot region of the Jhang district, Punjab), and also of the Mauryas and the Guptas, from north to south—there is no satisfactory evidence as regards the migration of the other families or tribes. The mention of the Mālayas (= Mālavas) as living in the vicinity of Puṣkara (near Ajmere) in an inscription of Usavadāta (*Ind. Ant.*, 1918, p. 75), the find of coins with legend *Mālavānāṃ jayaḥ* in the southern part of the Jaipur State (Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 51) and the name of the modern province of Mālwā, prove conclusively the southerly course of the Mālavas. As regards the Śibis, we may, however, challenge the authority of the tradition recorded in the *Daśakumāra-carita* (Madhya, Ch. VI) about their settlement on the Kāverī and their connection with the greater Colas as is claimed in the Udayendiram plates (*S. I. I.*, II, p. 382); but the discovery of their coins at Nagarī leaves no doubt that the Śibi tribe marched at least as far south as the Chitorgadh district of Rajputana. It can hardly be doubted that the Mauryas of Konkan and the Guttas (=Guptas) of Guttala were branches respectively of the famous imperial dynasties of those names that ruled at Pāṭaliputra. The cases of the other tribes or families however, though not impossible, cannot be proved at the present state of our knowledge.

[1] An English translation of this paper is to be found in P. C. Bagchi's *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, Calcutta University, 1929

the sake of ennobling it. The epic poets could not be pleased with the idea that a gourd had given birth to a glorious dynasty. Ikṣvāku, which properly means a gourd in Sanskrit, appears, therefore, to have been personified as a hero, son of Vaivasvata Manu (*Rām.*, I. 70, vs. 20-21; *Mahābhā.*, I, 75, vs. 31-40) or of Sage Gautama (Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 10-11). In a story of the *Dul-va*, analysed by Rockhill, attempt has been made to explain the name Ikṣvāku by the fact that the children of the sage Gautama were found in a field of sugarcane (*ikṣu*).

If we think, now, that the Ikṣvākus were originally an Aryan tribe, this Austro-Asiatic influence possibly shows that they were closely connected with the aborigines of the country, wherein there was a strong Austro-Asiatic element, and consequently shared some of their beliefs and traditions. Relation, matrimonial and otherwise, of Aryan ruling families with the aborigines is frequently illustrated in the epic and the Purāṇic literature. That the Aryan families which migrated to South India had to accept some aboriginal customs is also clear from the fact that very early authorities on *smṛti* had to acknowledge and distinguish between the Aryan customs of Northern and those of Southern India. Baudhāyana, who lived long before Christ[1] and is a very great authority, speaks in his *Dharmasūtra* (I, ii, 1-4) of *mātula-pitṛsvasṛ-duhitṛ-gamana* (*i.e.*, sexual relation with daughters of mother's brother and father's sister) as an established custom in the South. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the Ikṣvāku king Virapurisadata had, among others, three queens who were the daughters of his father's sisters.[2]

[1] According to Bühler (*Ind. Stud.*, No. III, p. 15 ff.) the date of the Sūtras of Baudhāyana is the sixth century B.C. Keith however thinks that they are of a somewhat later date (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 140, note 3).

[2] Instances of marriage with the daughter of one's maternal uncle may be found in the history of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of the Deccan. Kṛṣṇa II married Lakṣmī, daughter of his *mātula* Raṇavigraha Śaṅkaragaṇa; Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III also married Vijāmbā,

It has been suggested that the capital of the Southern Ikṣvākus was probably at Dhānyakaṭaka and that "the remains of Nagarjunikonda can possibly represent the ancient capital of Dhaññakaṭaka which archæologists have sought both at Dharanīkoṭa near Amarāvatī and at Bezvāḍa." But the remains seem to represent a city called Vijayapurī.

It must be noticed that the country, which according to the evidence of the Nagarjunikonda and Jaggayyapetta inscriptions appears to have belonged to the Ikṣvākus in about the middle of the 3rd century A.D., is known to have belonged to the Sātavāhanas in the 2nd century. After the decline of the Ikṣvākus, this region passed into the hands of the Pallavas of Kāñcī. The Mayidavolu (Guntur district) Prakrit grant (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 86) of the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman, records an order of the Yuvamahārāja to the *vāpata* (*vyāpṛta, i.e.*, governor) of Dhaṃñakaḍa (Dhānyakaṭaka) to execute the grant of a village called Viripāra situated in the Andhāpatha (Andhrāpatha). Another Prakrit grant of the same age belonging to the reign of the Pallava king *vijaya*-Skandavarman was discovered in the Guntur district. According to Prof. Dubreuil, king *vijaya*-Skandavarman of this inscription is the same as the Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman of the Mayidavolu grant. Whatever the identification be worth (*vide infra*), it is clear that the Ikṣvākus were ousted from the Kistna-Guntur region by the Pallavas of Kāñcī.

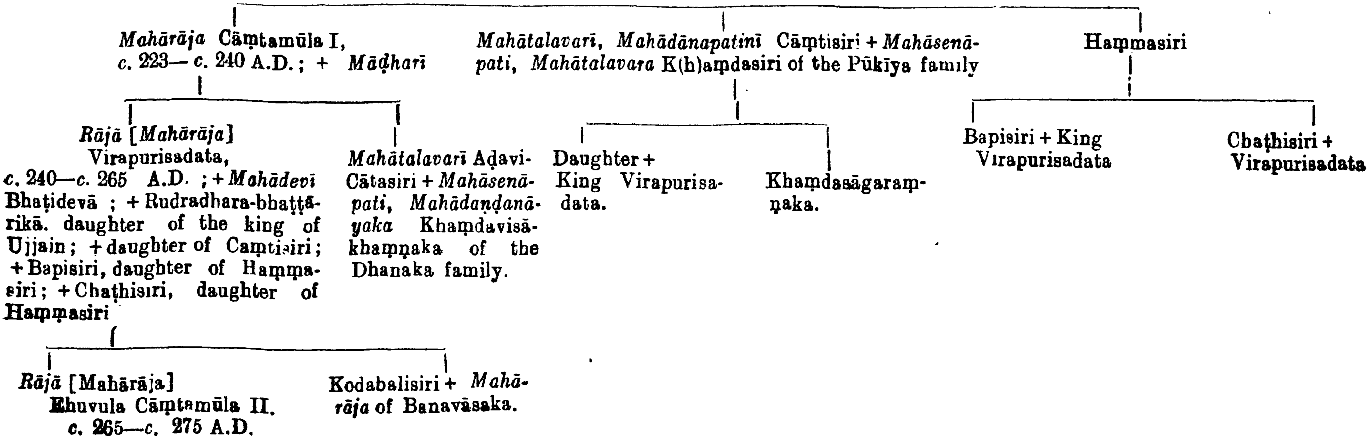
We cannot neglect to mention in this connection the rise of the Bṛhatphalāyanas in the district round Masulipatam. It is, however, certain that the weak successors of the great Cāṃtamūla and his son Virapurisadata were finally swept away by the Pallavas of Kāñcī at about the end of the 3rd century A.D. But it is quite possible that the rise of the

daughter of his *mātula* Ammaṇadeva (Anaṅgadeva) of the Kalacuri family (B. N. *History of the Rashtrakutas*, pp. 77-8). The custom is prevalent in the Deccan even at the present time.

Bṛhatphalāyanas had a large share in weakening the power of the Ikṣvākus.

An inscription of about the 5th century A.D. (*Ep. Carnat.*, XI, p. 142), discovered at Anaji in the Davanegere taluka of the Chitaldrug district (Mysore), speaks of a Kekaya prince, named Śivanandavarman who claims, for his family, matrimonial connection with the saintly kings of the Ikṣvāku line. *Cf. parama-māheśvaraḥ mātā-pitṛ-pādabhaktaḥ ātreya-gotraḥ soma-vaṃś-odbhavaḥ ikṣvā-kubhir=api rājarṣibhiḥ kṛt-āvāha-vivāhānāṃ kekayānāṃ kule jātaḥ śivanandavarmā.* This fact possibly goes to show that the Ikṣvāku dynasty lingered long as a ruling power, though unimportant in comparison with the neighbouring royal families.

Genealogical Table of the Ikṣvākus.



II

CĀMTAMŪLA I.[1]

Only three kings of the Ikṣvāku family of Eastern Deccan are so far known. The first of them is Mahārāja Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāṃtamūla. We have not yet any inscription of the time of this king. But from the epithets applied to his name in the inscriptions of his son and grandson, he appears to have been a very great and powerful monarch.

Vāsiṣṭhīputra Ikṣvāku Cāṃtamūla is credited with the performance of the *agnihotra*, *agniṣṭoma*, *vājapeya* and *aśvamedha* sacrifices. It must be noted that the Vājapeya and Aśvamedha sacrifices could be performed only by very powerful kings. According to the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (V. 1, 1, 13)[2] the performance of the former bestowed on the performer a superior kind of kingship called *sāmrājya*, while

[1] Possibly Sanskrit *Śāntamūla*. In this connection may be noticed the change of ṣ into c in the name of two kings of the Kadamba family of Goa. The name Ṣaṣṭha or Ṣaṣṭhadeva has in these cases the Prakrit forms Caṭṭa, Caṭṭala, Caṭṭaya and Caṭṭayya (*Bomb Gaz.*, I, Pt. ii, p. 567). Sten Konow for this reason is inclined to take *Cāṃtamūla* as a Prakrit form of Sanskrit *Kṣāntamūla* (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 26). It must also be remembered that Tamil, a typical Dravidian language, has no letter in its alphabet corresponding to the *ś* of Sanskrit and that Sanskrit *ś* is generally represented in Tamil by *c* ; *e.g* , Sanskrit *paśu* = Tamil *pacu* ; S. *śatru* = T. *catturu* ; S. *śastraka* = T. *cattakam* ; etc. This is due possibly to the fact that Sanskrit *ś* is represented in Prakrit by *s* which again is almost identical in sound with Dravidian *c*. *Cf.* *Kuḷacarman* for *Kulaśarman* in the Udayendiram grant of Nandivarman Pallava (*Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 142). Sometimes *ś* is represented by *ch* in Prakrit, *e g.*, S. *Śava* = Pali *chava*. The word *Śaka* has sometimes been mentioned in Indian literature, *e.g.*, in the *Gārgīsaṃhitā*, as *Caka* (*J.B.O.R.S.*, XIV, p. 408). Dr. Barnett however suggests to me that the name *Cāṃtamūla* is derived from some unknown Dravidian word and has no connection with Sanskrit.

[2] *Cf. rājā vai rājasūyen=eṣṭvā bhavati, samrāḍ= vājapeyen=āvaraṃ hi rājyaṃ paraṃ sāmrājyaṃ, kāmayeta vai rājā samrāḍ bhavituṃ* (*Śat. Br.*, V. 1, 1, 13) ; see also Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd ed., p. 102, and *Appendix* below.

the Rājasūya conferred merely the ordinary royal dignity called *rājya*. According to the *Āpastamba Śrauta-sūtra* (XX, i. 1), only the *sārvabhauma* kings (*rājā*) could perform the Aśvamedha sacrifice.[1] King Cāṃtamūla, therefore, could not have been a weak ruler, subordinate to some Sātavāhana emperor. The celebration of Aśvamedha by the Ikṣvāku king possibly shows his success against a Sātavāhana overlord. Cāṃtamūla I is also said to have been a giver of crores of gold, thousands of cows (or bullocks) and thousands of ploughs.[2] The king was evidently a Brahmanical Hindu. The deity he was devoted to is mentioned as *virūpākhapati-mahasena*. It may be noted that the Kadambas and the Calukyas also referred to their families, in their inscriptions, as *mahāsena-parigṛhīta*. Mahāsena (Skanda), in the Ikṣvāku inscriptions, has been called *virūpākha-pati*, " lord of the Virūpākhas." Vogel takes the term *virūpakha* in the sense of the hosts of which Skanda is the lord or leader. The word indicates a class of snakes in a snake-charm in the *Vinayapiṭaka* (ed. Oldenberg, II, p. 110). Virūpākṣa is an ordinary epithet applied to Rākṣasas and other spirits in *Mahābhā.* and *Rām.* (Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 39.)

King Cāṃtamūla had at least two sisters. One of them named Cāṃtasiri (or Cāṃtisiri = Śāntaśrī or Śāntiśrī ?) was given in marriage to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Khaṃdasiri or Kaṃda° (Skandaśrī) of the Pūkīya family.[3] Khaṃdasiri has been called

[1] See my note in *Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 311 ff., and *Appendix* below ; also Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp 105-06 and 109-10.

[2] It is possible that his epithet *aneka-hiramṇa-koṭi-go-satasahasa-hala-satasahasa-padāyi* refers to the fact that the king performed many times several of the sixteen *mahādānas*, such as Hiraṇyagarbha, Hiraṇyakāmadhenu, Hiraṇyāśva, Hiraṇyāśvaratha, Gosahasra and Pañcalāṅgala, enumerated in the Purāṇas.

[3] An inscription discovered at Ramireddipalle in the Nandigram taluka of the Kistna district mentions the Mahātalavaras of the Mūgiyas. It has been suggested (*An Rep S. Ind. Ep.*, 1926-27, p. 74) that the Mūgiyas may be identical with the Pūkīyas.

Mahāsenāpati and *Mahātalavara*, and his wife, the Ikṣvāku princess Cāṃtasiri, *Mahātalavarī* and *Mahādāna-patinī*. The term *mahāsenāpati* ("great chief of the army," *i.e.*, general) denoted feudatory chieftains in charge of the *rāṣṭras* (districts) at the time of the Sātavāhanas[1]; the same meaning seems to be applicable in the present case also. Vogel is, therefore, inclined to render the term by "duke." Mahātalavaras are mentioned in early Jain works along with the eighteen *gaṇa-rājas*. So, this word must also be taken as a title of nobility (*cf. Kalpasūtra*, ed. Jacobi, 61, ll. 21-25). A Sanskrit commentary on the *Kalpasūtra*, called *Subodhikā*, by Vinayavijaya (Nirnaysagar Press ed., leaf 60, lines 6-7) explains the term *talavara* as *tuṣṭa-bhūpala-pradatta-paṭṭa-bandha-vibhūṣita-rājasthānīya*. In the Punjab there is a subdivision of the Khetris (Kṣatriyas) called the Tālwār (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 7, n. 1). Vogel suggests a connection of the word *talavara* with Tamil *taḷavāy* (general), *talaiyāri* (village-watchman) or Kanarese *taḷavara*, *taḷavāra* (watchman, beadle). It seems from the *Subodhikā* and these inscriptions that the Mahātalavaras were provincial governors or subordinate rulers. I, therefore, think that the word is connected with Tamil *talaivan*, which means a king, ruler or governor (*Tamil Lexicon*, pub. Madras University, s.v.). The word, which is originally Dravidian, evidently penetrated into North India also. In addition to the instance of the Tālwārs of the Punjab, it may be said that it is obviously identical with the mysterious word *taravara*, which along with the word *mahāpratīhāra* (great chamberlain) is found on a clay sealing excavated by Bloch at Basarh (*Arch. Surv. Rep.*, 1903-04, p. 108, Pl. XL. 6). *Talāra*, evidently the same as *talavara*, is mentioned in the Chirwa

[1] Sometimes the Mahāsenāpatis were also called Mahārāja ; *cf.* Mahārāja Mahāsenāpati Puṣyeṇa of the Wala clay seal (Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 1862) which belongs to the first half of the sixth century A.D. See also the Bijaygarh inscription (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 252) which mentions a Yaudheya Mahārāja Mahāsenāpati.

inscription (A.D. 1273) of Guhila Samarasiṃha of Mewar. According to this epigraph, one Kṣema was made *talāra* of Citrakūṭa by Jaitrasiṃha, and after him one Madana was made *talāra* of the same place by the *Pradhāna* Rājasiṃha (Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 579).

At least two children—a son and a daughter—were born to Cāṃtisiri. The name of her son was Khaṃdasāgaraṃṇaka [1] (Skanda-sāgara ?). We do not know her daughter's name ; but she is known to have been married to her cousin, king Virapurisadata. In an inscription of Nagarjunikonda, Virapurisadata has been called Cāṃtisiri's *apano jāmātuka*, *i.e.*, own son-in-law.

Another uterine sister of king Cāṃtamūla was Haṃmasiri (Harmyaśrī ?) who had two daughters, Bapisirinikā (Vāpiśrī ?) and Chaṭhisiri (Ṣaṣṭhīśrī ?). Both Bapisiri and Chaṭhisiri were given in marriage to their cousin, Virapurisadata, son and successor of king Cāṃtamūla I.

Two children of king Cāṃtamūla are known from inscriptions. One of them is his son from Māḍharī (Māṭharī), named Virapurisadata, who succeeded him on the throne. The other is his daughter, Mahātalavarī Aḍavi-Cātasiri.[2] The princess was given in marriage to the Mahāsenāpati, Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Khaṃdavisākhaṃṇaka (Skandaviśākha ?) who belonged to the family of the Dhanakas. Both the sister and the brother appear to have been staunch Buddhists,

[1] Sten Konow says (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 25), "…………the suffix *aṇaka* in *Visākhaṃṇaka*, *Sāgaraṃṇaka* formed from Viśākha, Sāgara, respectively. This same suffix is frequent in names from the Bombay Presidency ; *cf.* Lüders, Nos. 985, 993, 1000, 1018, 1020, 1033 (Kanheri), 1063, 1064, 1065 (Kuḍā), 1088, 1091, 1097 (Kārli), 1109, 1111 (Bedsa), 1141 (Nāsik), 1171 (Junnar). It evidently belongs to a dialect with a Dravidian, perhaps Kanarese, substratum. The *h* for *s* also points to Kanarese. Moreover, some of the names seem to find their explanation in Kanarese. Thus *kanda* means 'child' in Kanarese, and *chaḷi* ' cold.' *Chalikereṃmaṇaka* probably is *Chalikiraṇaka* = 'Moon'." But the last name, excluding the suffix, is Calikireṃma.

[2] The word *aḍavi*, the meaning of which is not known, was prefixed to the name of this princess evidently in order to distinguish her from her namesakes.

whereas their father was a performer of Vedic sacrifices like *agnihotra, agniṣṭoma, vājapeya* and *aśvamedha.*

In one of the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions dated in the 6th regnal year of Virapurisadata, we have a record of the benefactions of one Mahāsenāpatinī Cula(kṣudra)-Cāṃtisirinikā (*i.e.*, Cāṃtisiri the younger) who was married to the Mahāsenāpati, Mahātalavara, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Khaṃdacalikiremmaṇaka of the Hiraṇyaka family. The name of the Mahāsenāpatinī seems to indicate that she was an Ikṣvāku princess ; but she is explicitly called *kulahakānaṃ bālikā, i.e.*, a girl born in the family of the Kulahakas. She therefore appears to me to have been the daughter of an Ikṣvāku princess married to a Kulahaka chief.

III

VIRAPURISADATA (VĪRAPURUṢADATTA).[1]

King Cāṃtamūla I, as we have already said, was succeeded on the Ikṣvāku throne by his son Virapurisadata. We have a number of inscriptions dated in the regnal years of this king. His inscriptions have been found at the Buddhist sites of Nagarjunikonda and Jaggayyapetta. The records begin with an adoration to Bhagavān Samyaksaṃbuddha, *i.e.*, Lord Buddha.

Inscriptions appear to tell us of five queens of king Virapurisadata Two of them were Bapisiri and Chaṭhisiri, daughters of the king's aunt (father's sister) Haṃmasiri. We have already seen that Baudhāyana sanctions marriage with daughters of maternal uncles and paternal aunts for the inhabitants of the South. A daughter of his other aunt Cāṃtisiri was also a queen of the king. Another queen appears to have been the Mahādevī Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā, who has been described in the inscriptions as *Ujanikāmahārabālikā*. Vogel is inclined to correct the passage as *Ujanikā-mahārājabālikā*. This may not be impossible, as in the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions there are signs of careless engraving. Vogel then identifies Ujanikā with the famous city of Ujjayinī (Prakrit *Ujeni*), mentioned by the Greek geographer Ptolemy (*Geography*, VII, i, §63) as Ozênê and as the capital of Tiastênes (Caṣṭana). The name of queen Rudradharā and those of the kings of Caṣṭana's line, such as

1 Bühler took Purisadata as name of the king and *siri-vira* (*śrī-vīra*) as an adjective (*Ind. Ant.*, XI, p. 257) on the ground that there is no deity named Vīrapuruṣa and that therefore, as a name, Vīrapuruṣa-datta makes no sense. Sometimes, however, such adjectives are known to form an integral part of the proper name. Note, for instance, the name of Vīrarājendra, the Cola king, who ruled from A.D. 1063 to 1070 (Sewell, *List*, pp. 81 and 449-50).

Rudradāman (I and II), Rudrasena (I, II and III) and Rudrasiṃha (I, II, III and IV) may also indicate the possibility of Vogel's theory. Though there is no name like Rudradhara (of whom the queen might have been supposed to have been a sister or a daughter) in the genealogy of the Śakas of Ujjain, two kings having names beginning with Rudra reigned in the third century A.D.

1. Rudrasena I, *circa* Śaka 122-135 (A.D. 200-213).
2. Rudrasena II, *circa* Śaka 176-196 (A.D. 254-274).

It is not altogether impossible that the Ikṣvāku queen was related to one of these kings. It may be noted in this connection that a Nagarjunikonda inscription records the pious gift of a Śaka girl, which fact possibly shows that the Ikṣvākus were friendly towards the Śakas. The currency of *dīnāri-māṣakas* in their kingdom seems also to indicate their relation with the north. The *dīnāra*, according to numismatists, was a gold coin weighing about 124 grains, first struck by the Kuṣāṇa kings (of whom Caṣṭana is generally supposed to have been a feudatory) in the first century A.D. in imitation of the Roman gold denarius (Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 181).

In an inscription of Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla II, son and successor of Virapurisadata, the name of the reigning king's mother is mentioned as Mahādevī Bhaṭidevā. She appears, therefore, to have been another queen of Virapurisadata.

Besides the son Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla, king Virapurisadata is known to have had a daughter named Kodabalisiri who is said to have been the Mahādevī (queen) of the *Vanavāsaka-mahārāja*. Vanavāsaka-mahārāja appears to mean the king of Banavāsī, now in the North Kanara district of the Bombay Presidency. Banavāsī is known to have been the

capital of the Cuṭu Śātakarṇis and afterwards of the Kadambas. Scholars think that the Kadambas began to rule at Banavāsī about the middle of the fourth century A.D. (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 95 ; *Kadambakula*, p. 18 ; also *infra.*). We should also note in this connection that the Chandravalli Prakrit record of the earliest Kadamba king Mayūraśarman (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, AR, 1929, p. 50) which expresses compound consonants by more than one letter is obviously later than the time of the issuers of the Nagarjunikonda and Jaggayyapetta records. It is therefore not impossible that a Cuṭu-Śātakarṇi king of Banavāsī was the husband of the Ikṣvāku princess Kodabalisiri, daughter of Virapurisadata whose inscriptions have been ascribed to the third century A.D. Matrimonial alliance with the powerful houses of Ujjain and Banavāsī certainly strengthened the Ikṣvākus at the time of this monarch.

King Māṭharīputra Virapurisadata ruled at least for more than nineteen years. We have inscriptions dated in the 6th, 14th, 15th, 18th and the 20th year of his reign. The following are some important inscriptions discovered at Nagarjunikonda and dated in his sixth regnal year :—

I. Record of the erection of a pillar at the Mahācetiya of Lord Buddha by Cāṃtasiri who was the uterine sister of king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāṃtamūla I, aunt (*pituchā, i.e.*, father's sister) of king Māḍharīputra Virapurisadata, wife of the Pūkīya chief Vāsiṣṭhīputra Khaṃdasiri and mother of Khaṃdasāgaraṃṇaka. The act is said to have been done "for the attainment of welfare and happiness by all the world."

II. Record of the erection of a stone-pillar by Bapisirinikā, daughter of Haṃmasiri (sister of king Cāṃtamūla I), and wife of king Virapurisadata. The pillar was erected with regard to the queen's mother Haṃmasiri, and for the sake of attaining the bliss of *nirvāṇa* for herself ; it also

records the completion of extensions of the Mahācetiya,[1] for the benefit of the Masters of the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect, by Reverend Ānanda who knew the *Dīgha-nikāya* and the *Majjhima-nikāya* by heart and was a disciple of the Masters of the *Ayira-haṃgha* (*ārya-saṃgha*). The Masters of the *ārya-saṃgha* are said to have been resident at Paṃṇagāma and to have been preachers and preceptors of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, *Majjhima-nikāya* and the five *Mātukas*.

The *Dīgha-nikāya* and the *Majjhima-nikāya* are celebrated Pāli Buddhist works. The way, however, in which the Masters of these Nikāyas are mentioned in the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions is different from that in which they are generally referred to in the Buddhist literature. It has, therefore, been conjectured by Dr. N. Dutt (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VII, p. 642) that possibly the inscriptions were concerned with a Buddhist sect that was not exactly the Theravāda (the Pāli) School, but had a literature and tradition very similar to that School. Dr. Dutt further suggests that the word *mātuka* (Pāli *mātikā*, Sanskrit *mātṛkā*) may be taken to be both the Vinaya and Abhidharma Piṭakas ; but that the specification of the number in *pañca-mātuka* indicates that here the *Vinaya-piṭaka* is meant. It must be noted that five of the principal Buddhist Schools, *viz.*, Theravāda, Mahīśāsaka, Haimavata, Sarvāstivāda and Mahāsaṃghika had their Vinaya Piṭaka in five divisions (Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, p. 353 ff.).

The Aparamahāvinaseliyas (Aparamahāvanaśailīyas) [2] have been taken to be the same as the Aparaśailīyas whose

[1] Dr. N. Dutt says that the " period mentioned here (*i.e.*. the time of the Ikṣvāku Inscriptions, the 3rd or 4th century) relates to the subsidiary structures of the main *stūpa*. The *stūpa* itself—the Mahācetiya.................must be assigned to an earlier period........" (*Ind. Hist. Quart* , VII, p. 634). Vogel, however, translates *niṭhapitaṃ inaṃ navakamaṃ* (lit. repairs) *mahācetiyaṃ khaṃbha ca ṭhapita ti*, as " this pious work (*i.e.*, *navakama*), the Mahācetiya, was completed and the pillars were erected " (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 17). Vogel has recently edited some additional Ikṣvāku inscriptions discovered at Nagarjunikonda in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 61 ff.

[2] An Amaravati Buddhist pillar inscription (Lüders, List, No. 1230) mentions one Acariya Sāriputa, inhabitant of Mahāvanasala (*sic.* °sela).

place has been referred to by Yuan Chwang as A-fa-lo-shi-lo (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, II, p. 214). Dr. Dutt suggests (*op. cit.*, pp. 648-49) that the Masters of the *Ayira-haṃgha* are to be identified with the Mahāsaṃghikas and that "the whole Buddhist establishment at Nagarjunikonda belonged to the Mahāsaṃghikas." It is, however, difficult to accept the latter suggestion in view of the fact that an inscription of the site dated in the 11th year of king Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla II records the dedication of a *vihāra* to the Masters of the Mahīśāsaka sect (*Ep Ind.*, XX, p. 24: *imaṃ khaniyaṃ vihāro ca acariyānaṃ mahisāsakānaṃ suparigahe cātudisaṃ ' saṃghaṃ udisāya sava-satānaṃ hita-sukhāthaṃ ṭhapitaṃ*).

III. Record of the erection of a pillar in the Mahā-cetiya by Mahātalavarī Aḍavi-Cāṃtasiri who was the daughter of king Cāṃtamūla I, sister of king Virapurisa-data and wife of the Dhanaka chief Khaṃda-visākhaṃṇaka. The act is said to have been done with regard for both the houses to which she belonged and for the attainment of welfare and happiness by herself in both the worlds.

IV. Record of the erection of a stone pillar in the Mahācetiya by Mahāsenāpatinī Cula-Cāṃtisirinikā (Kṣudra-Śāntiśrī), daughter of the Kulahakas and wife of the Hiraṃñaka (Hiraṇyaka) chief, Khaṃdacalikireṃmaṇaka.

V. Record of the erection of a *śaila-stambha* by Mahādevī Rudradhara-bhaṭṭārikā who was the daughter of the king of Ujjain and evidently the queen of Virapurisa-data, for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness and the wealth of Nirvāṇa,—and also of the construction of a shrine and receipt of the gift of 170 *dīnāri-māṣakas* by Mahātalavarī Cāṃtisiri (sister of king Cāṃtamūla I) who belonged, by marriage, to the family of the Pūkīyas. The mention of the *dīnāri-māṣakas* ($=\frac{1}{16}$ of a *dīnāra* in weight

or value ? *cf.* *fanam*),[1] in an inscription found at Nagarjunikonda in the Guntur district of the Madras Presidency, is very interesting. As already stated, it is generally held that *dīnāra* is the Indian designation of some Kuṣāṇa coins which were imitated from the Roman *denarius*. Again, the early Western Śaka Satraps, according to many scholars, were subordinate to the great Kuṣāṇa kings. As, then, the Ikṣvākus appear to have been matrimonially connected with the kings of Ujjain, it is not impossible that the Kuṣāṇa coin-designation passed into the Ikṣvāku kingdom through the country of the Śakas.

VI. Record of the erection of a pillar by the Mahādevī Chaṭhisiri, daughter of king Cāṃtamūla's sister Haṃmasirinikā and wife of king Virapurisadata, for the purpose of attaining Nirvāṇa.

VII. Record of the erection of a stone-pillar by a Mahātalavarī, whose name is not mantioned, but who is said to have been the wife of the Mahāsenāpati, Mahātalavara Vāsiṣṭhīputra Mahā-Kaṃdasiri (Mahā-Skandaśrī) of the Pūkīya family and the mother of the Mahāsenāpati Mahātalavara Veṇhusiri (Viṣṇuśrī). Vogel thinks it possible that the Vāsiṣṭhīputra Mahā-Kaṃdasiri is identical with the Pūkīya chief K[h]aṃdasiri, who is mentioned in some inscriptions as the husband of king Cāṃtamula's sister Cāṃtisiri, mother of Khaṃda-sāgaraṃṇaka. This identification makes Cāṃtisiri, mother of Khaṃdasāgaraṃṇaka, a co-wife of the unknown Mahātalavarī who was the mother of Veṇhusiri. It however seems to me that Mahā-Kaṃdasiri was a uterine elder brother of K[h]aṃdasiri. (*Cf.* the names Mahā-Caṃdamukha and Cula (*kṣudra*)-Caṃdamukha and of Mahā-Mūla and Cula-Mūla in inscription F of Nagarjunikonda).

[1] *Māṣaka* was the $\frac{1}{16}$ part of the standard *Suvarṇa*. May *dīnāra-māṣaka* be $\frac{1}{16}$ of a *dīnāra* (about 124 gr.) in weight (or value) ? It is interesting to note that some gold *fanams* are found to be 7·7 gr. in weight (see Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 315, Pl. XXX. 7).

The Nagarjunikonda inscription dated in the 14th year of king Virapurisadata is very important. It records the building of a *cetiya-ghara* (*caitya-gṛha*), " with a flooring of slabs, with a caitya and provided with all the necessaries " in the Cula-dhaṃmagiri-vihāra on the Śrīparvata, to the east of Vijayapurī, by a lay-member Bodhisiri (Bodhiśrī), wife of Budhiṃṇaka and daughter of Revata of Govagāma, for the acceptance (*suparigahe*) of the Therīs specially of Taṃbapaṃṇa (Sanskrit : Tāmraparṇī or °ṇa ; Greek : Taprobane, *i.e.*, Ceylon) and other Therīs who are said to have " caused serenity and happiness " (*pasādaka*) to the people of, that is, who belonged to, Kasmira, Gaṃdhāra, Cīna, Cilāta, Tosali, Avaraṃta, Vaṃga, Vanavāsī, Yavana (?), Damila (?), Palura (?) and Taṃbapaṃṇi-dīpa. It appears that these Therīs (female ascetics) of Ceylon and other countries used to visit this region for purposes of pilgrimage.[1] Many of the countries mentioned in this connection can be easily identified.[2]

(*i*) Kāśmīra is the famous country of North-western India still known under its ancient name. The boundary of the country, however, was not the same in all ages.

(*ii*) The kingdom of Gaṃdhāra, according to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (VII, 113.11; 114.11), lay *sindhor= ubhayataḥ pārśve* (on both sides of the Indus). We know from the Epics and the Purāṇas that the great cities of Takṣaśilā

[1] Dr. N. Dutt in a learned paper in *Ind. Hist. Quart.* (VII. p. 633 ff.) has objected to Dr. Vogel's translation of the term *pasādaka* as " one who converts." According to him the word refers to the saintly lives of the nuns that bring joy and peace to the people of their countries. Mr. D. L. Barua (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 110) takes the word *theriyānaṃ* as an adjunct to *ācariyānaṃ* and interprets as " to the teachers represented by the Theras, exponents of Theravāda."

[2] It is interesting to note that according to some *gāthās* of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, XXIX, verse 30 ff., the leading Theras were representatives of towns and countries like Rājagaha, Isipatana, Jetavana, Vesālī, Kosaṁbī, Ujenī, Pupphapura, Kasmira, Pallavabhogga (= Kāñcī ?), Yonanagara-Alasanda, Bhodhimaṇḍa, Vanavāsa and Kelāsa. We see that the *Mahāvaṃsa* list mentions Kasmira, Vanavāsa and the Yona or Yavana country which are also included in the Nagarjunikonda list (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 111).

and Puṣkalāvatī belonged to the Gaṃdhāra kingdom. The ruins of the ancient city of Takṣaśilā are situated immediately to the east of Saraikala, a railway junction twenty miles to the north-west of Rawalpindi in the Punjab. Puṣkalāvatī (Prakrit: Pukkalaoti; Greek: Peukelaotis) has now been correctly identified with modern Prang and Charsadda on the Swat river, seventeen miles to the north-west of Peshawar (Schoff, *Periplus*, pp. 183-84). The *janapada* of Gaṃdhāra appears to have included the Rawalpindi district of the Punjab and the Peshawar district of the North-West Frontier Province.

(*iii*) and (*iv*) Cīna and Cilāta (Kirāta) were names of the countries inhabited by Mongoloid peoples and situated to the east and north-east of India (as regards the latter, *cf.* the Purāṇic statement, *e.g.*, in *Vāyu*, 45, 82, *purve kirātā yasy=ānte paścime yavanās=tathā*). According to the *Mahābhārata* (V. 19.15), Bhagadatta, king of Prāgjyotiṣa or Assam, marshalled the Cīnas and Kirātas in the great battle of Kurukṣetra. The name Cīna is famous in Sanskrit literature. It originated most probably from the name of the Tsin dynasty which ruled in China from B.C. 255 to 202.[1] Cilāta is the same as Sanskrit Kirāta and Greek Kirradai (*Periplus*, § 62, Ptolemy, VII, 2.2), Kirradia (Ptolemy, VII. 2.16) or Tiladai (*ib.*, VII. 2. 15). In the *Milindapañho* there are two passages which mention a number of places that were used to be visited by merchants for purposes of trade. In both these lists we have the mention of Cīna-Cilāta. The printed text of the *Milindapañho*, however, reads Cīna-vilāta; but Sylvain Lèvi (*Etudes Asiatique*, II, p. 24) has rightly contended that Vilāta is an error for Cilāta. The peoples of these countries are described by the *Periplus* as a "race of

[1] Considering the early use of the word in Sanskrit it seems impossible that the name was derived from that of the Later Tsins who ruled in A.D. 265-420 and 936-948 (D.C. Boulger, *Short History of China*, p. 377 ff.).

men with flattened nose, very savage," and by Ptolemy as dwarfs with flat face and white skin.

(*v*) The city of Tosala or Tosalī is to be identified with modern Dhauli (Puri district, Orissa), where a set of the Fourteen Rock Edicts of Aśoka has been found. The name Dhauli appears to have sprung from Tosalī through the intermediate forms Tohali and Dhoali. In literature, the country of Tosala is always associated with (South) Kosala (modern Raipur, Bilaspur and Sambalpur districts). Some mediaeval inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 286 ; XV, p. 2) mention Uttara-Tosala and Dakṣiṇa-Tosala. The country is to be identified with the Puri district, and parts of the adjoining districts, of Orissa.

The city is generally taken to be the same as the Tosalei metropolis which was, according to the *Geography* of Ptolemy, situated in trans-Gangetic India. Vogel may be right in identifying it with Dosara of Ptolemy and Dosarene of the Periplus.

(*vi*) Avaraṃta (Aparānta) is now generally identified with Northern Konkan. It had its capital at Śūrpāraka, modern Sopārā in the Thana district of the Bombay Presidency.

(*vii*) Vogel appears to be wrong when he says that "Vaṅga is the ancient name of Bengal." It seems to me impossible that the whole of the modern Presidency of Bengal was meant by the term Vaṃga in the third century A.D. The country of Vaṃga may be identified with Central and Eastern Bengal, along with a part of Southern Bengal (Ray Chaudhuri, *Indian Antiquities*, p. 184 ff.).

(*viii*) The country of Vanavāsī (*Bom. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 278, n. 2) appears to be the same as modern (North) Kanara. The capital is to be identified with the modern town of Banavāsī in the North Kanara district of the Bombay Presidency. Vogel seems to be wrong in identifying it with "Banavāsī, a village or small town in the Shimoga district of the Mysore state" (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 8).

(*ix*) The exact situation of the Yavana country (that is, the country inhabited by the Yavanas or Yaunas, the Greeks) is not yet known. It is not certain whether Yavana means here the ancient dominions of the Greek emperors of Syria, or the land of the Yonas referred to in the third Rock Edict of Aśoka, or the Far Eastern Yavana country (Northern Annam), or any settlement of the Græco-Romans somewhere in South India.[1] According to the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 207. 43), we know, the country of the Yaunas lay in the Uttarāpatha. The city of Alasanda, mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, has been identified by Geiger with Alexandria founded by Alexander the Great near Kabul (Geiger, *Mahāvaṃsa*, p. 194). According to the Milindapañho, the Indo-Greek king Menander (Milinda) was born at Kalasigāma in the *dipa* of Alasanda or Alexandria (Trenckner, *Milindapañho*, pp. 82-83). The capital where Menander ruled was at Sākala, modern Sialkot in the Punjab. The Indian Yavana country may possibly be the same as Alasanda of the Indian literature, which appears to have been somewhere about modern N.W.F.P. and Afghanistan.

(*x*) and (*xi*) The reading of the names Damila and Palura is not quite certain. Damila, however, can be no other than the country of the Tamil people. Palura, if the reading be accepted, may be identified with Ptolemy's Paloura (*Geography*, VII. i, § 16), which has been taken to be the Dravidian form of the name of the famous city, Dantapura, the ancient capital of Kaliṅga. *Cf*. Pal (tooth) + ūr (city) = Danta (tooth) + pura (city). But we cannot be definite on this point. First because the reading is doubtful; secondly, the connection of the name with Dantapura is

[1] In connection with Sahadeva's *digvijaya* in the south, the *Mahābhārata* (I, 31, 71-72) mentions a "city of the Yavanas" together with the countries of the Pāṇḍyas, Keralas, Kaliṅgas and others. The *Milindapañho* list mentions Yona, Parama-yona and Alasanda; one of the two Yonas may be identical with Yavana (Northern Annam) mentioned in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* along with Campā (Southern Annam) and Kamboja (Cambodia). See R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, pp. 56, 136.

conjectural; and thirdly, Dantapura is known to have been a city, while all the names in our list appear to designate countries or provinces. The site of Dantapura has not been definitely identified. We have reference to the Dantapuravāsaka in the Purle plates of the Gaṅga king Indravarman (6th century A.D.), edited in *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 361, where it has been suggested that the name survives in that of the fort of Dantavaktra near Chicacole in the Ganjam district of the Madras Presidency. The Jirjingi copper-plate grant of Indravarman was also issued from Dantapura. Oldham identifies Paloura with a village called Pālūru about six miles north-east of Ganjām (J. B. O. R. S., XXII, p. 1 ff.).

Śrīparvata (= Nagarjunikonda, according to many), where the Cula-dhammagiri-vihāra was built, does not appear to be the same as the Śrīśaila in the Kurnool district of the Madras Presidency. Vijayapurī (the Ikṣvāku capital, according to some) which was situated to the west of Śrīparvata was possibly the city "once situated in the valley of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa."[1]

The same *upāsikā* Bodhisiri here claims also the construction of a chaitya-shrine at the Kulaha-vihāra, a shrine for the Bodhi-tree at the Sīhala-vihāra, one cell at the Great Dhammagiri, a *maṇḍapa*-pillar at the Mahāvihāra, a hall for religious practices at Devagiri, a tank, a veranda and a *maṇḍapa* at Puvasela, a stone-*maṇḍapa* at the eastern gate of the great Caitya at Kaṇṭakasola or °sela, three cells at Hirumuṭhuva, seven cells at Papilā, and a stone-*maṇḍava* at Puphagiri.

The localities mentioned in this connection cannot all be satisfactorily identified. The name of the Kulaha-vihāra reminds us of the Kulahaka family which, as we have suggested above, was probably matrimonially connected with the Ikṣvākus. The Sīhala (Siṃhala, *i.e.*, Ceylon)-vihāra appears to have been a convent "founded either by a Sin-

[1] An Amaravati inscription (Lüders, No. 1285) mentions Vijayapura.

halese, or more probably, for the accommodation of Sinhalese monks." This Sīhala-vihāra contained a shrine for the Bodhi-tree (*Bodhivṛkṣa-prāsāda*). It is interesting to note that the Bodhi-tree is a necessary adjunct of the Ceylonese vihāras even at the present time. Puvasela (Pūrvaśaila) is mentioned by Yuan Chwang as Fu-p'o-shi-lo, where resided a Buddhist sect known as the Pūrvaśailīyas. The Pūrvaśailīya *ācāryas* have been referred to in a fragmentary pillar inscription discovered at Alluru in the Nandigram taluka of the Kistna district. Kaṇṭakasela has been rightly taken to be the same as the emporium Kaṇṭakassula mentioned by Ptolemy (*Geography*, VII, i, 15) immediately after the river Maisôlos (the Krishna) in the land called Maisôlia (Masulipatam). Kaṇṭakassula has been identified with the town of Ghaṇṭaśālā which lies between the village of Guduru and the mouth of the Krishna (*cf.* Ptolemy's location : Mouth of the river Maisôlos...............Kaṇṭakassula, a mart..........Koddoura (*loc. cit.*).[1] Mr. Rea discovered (*South Indian Antiquities*, p. 132) at this place the remains of a *stūpa* which, he thought, date from the beginning of the Christian era. The remains almost certainly belong to the Great Caitya mentioned in these inscriptions. Puphagiri is probably the same as Puṣpagiri in the Cuddapah district (*An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1926-27, p. 73).

The Nagarjunikonda inscription, dated in the 18th year of king Virapurisadata, records the building of "a stone-hall, surrounded by a cloister and provided with every necessary at the foot of the Mahācetiya" for the acceptance of the Aparamahāvinaseliyas, by the Mahātalavarī Cāṃtisiri, sister of king Cāṃtamula I, wife of the Pūkīya chief Vāsiṣthīpūtra Khaṃdasiri and mother of Khaṃdasāgaraṃṇaka, desiring the longevity, strength and victory of her

[1] An Amaravati inscription (Lüders, No. 1000) mentions Kaṭakasola, evidently the same as Kaṃtakasela.

own son-in-law (*apano jāmātuka*), king Māṭharīputra Vīrapurisadata, and for the attainment of *hita* and *sukha* in both the worlds by herself. As we have said above, it is to be noted that an inscription of the 6th year of king Vīrapurisadata calls Cāṃtisiri the king's *pituchā* (father's sister); here, however, the king is represented as the son-in-law of the lady. Vogel therefore thinks that Vīrapurisadata married his cousin, a daughter of his aunt Cāṃtisiri, between the 6th and 18th years of his reign.

A carved pillar was erected in the 20th year of Vīrapurisadata's reign in memory of his dead (*saga-gata*) father by the latter's sisters, mothers and consorts. Some figures in the reliefs carved on the pillars have been taken to represent king Cāmtamūla I (Ep. Ind., XXI, pp. 63-64).

The Jaggayyapetta inscriptions are dated in the 20th year of king Vīrapurisadata. The royal genealogy is not given in these inscriptions. They record the erection of five *āyaka-thaṃbhas* (entrance-pillars) at the eastern gate of the Mahācetiya of Lord Buddha, by the manufacturer (*avesani*) Sudatha (Siddhārtha) resident of the village of Mahā-Kāḍurūra and son of the manufacturer Nakacada (Nāgacandra) of Nadatūra in the Kamaka-raṭha. Kamaka-raṭha seems to be the same as the Karmarāṣṭra of later inscriptions. As for the suffix *-ka*, we may notice the passages *ujanikā-mahārā(ja)-bālikā* and *vanavāsaka-mahārāja*, etc, of the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions. Karmarāṣṭra has been identified with the northern part of Nellore and southern part of Guntur district.

IV

Ehuvula Cāmtamūla II.

King Māṭharīputra Virapurisadata was succeeded by his son Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla, born of queen Vāsiṣṭhī Bhaṭidevā. It is interesting to note that the custom of naming a grandson after his grandfather was prevalent among the Southern Ikṣvākus, as it was in many other ruling dynasties of ancient India. It has been noticed by Dr. Hirananda Sastri (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 6, n. 2) that this custom is sanctioned by Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (I. i. 1) where we have *tripuruṣānukaṃ nāmakṛtaṃ kuryāt* ; Kaiyaṭa on this passage has *pitā tasya ye trayaḥ puruṣās=tān=anukāyaty=abhidhatte.*

Several inscriptions of king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla II have been discovered, some at Nagarjunikonda and one at an adjacent place called Kottampalugu. The Nagarjunikonda inscriptions, dated in the 2nd regnal year of the king, record the establishment of a *vihāra* by the Mahādevī Bhaṭidevā, daughter-in-law of king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāṃtamūla I, wife of king Māṭharīputra Virapurisadata and mother of king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla II, for the *ācāryas* of the Bahusutīya sect. The Bahusutīyas were a branch of the Mahāsaṃghikas.

The Kottampalugu inscription, dated in the 11th regnal year of king Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla II, records the construction of a *vihāra* by Kodabalisiri, Mahādevī of the Mahārāja of Vanavāsaka, granddaughter of king Cāṃtamūla I, daughter

of king Virapurisadata and sister of king Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla II, for the acceptance of the *ācāryas* of the Mahīśāsaka sect. The Ikṣvāku princess Kodabalisiri, as we have noticed above, was possibly the queen of a Cuṭu-Śātakarṇi king of Banavāsī. The Buddhist sect of the Mahīśāsakas is mentioned also in other early inscriptions. A *saṃghārāma* is known to have been built for the Mahīśāsaka *ācāryas* somewhere in the Punjab, when the Hūṇa king Toramāna was ruling (*Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 239).

V

Importance of the Ikṣvāku Period.

The Ikṣvāku inscriptions discovered at Jaggayyapetta in the Kistna district and Nagarjunikonda in the Guntur district are of great importance for the history of Buddhism.

Dr. Dutt thinks (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, V, p. 794) that the site of Nagarjunikonda was a famous resort of Buddhism in the early years of the Christian era and, probably, also an early centre of Mahāyāna. "Just as Bodh-Gayā grew up on the bank of the Nerañjarā as a very early centre of Hīnayāna and a place of pilgrimage for the early Buddhists, so also did Amarāvatī (extending to Jaggayyapetta) and Nagarjunikonda on the bank of the Kṛṣṇā (including the tributary Paler) as a flourishing centre of proto-Mahāyāna in the pre-Christian and the early Christian era and a place of pilgrimage for the later Buddhists." The construction of the Amarāvatī *stūpa*, with its enlargements, decorations and railings, is placed between *circa* 2nd century B.C. and 2nd century A.D. (Burgess, *Arch. Surv. South. Ind.*, pp. 122-23), while that of the *stūpas* of Jaggayyapetta and Nagarjunikonda has been placed in or before the 3rd or 4th century A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 2 ; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VII, p. 634).

The *stūpas* of Amarāvatī appear to have been built at the time of Sātavāhana suzerainty. That the later Sātavāhanas, who were possibly Brahmanist in faith, showed great favour towards the Buddhists is known to all readers of the Sātavāhana inscriptions. They appear to have had strong Buddhist leaning, if some of them were not

actually Buddhist themselves. The successors of the later Sātavāhanas, the early Ikṣvākus, were however staunch followers of the Brahmanical faith. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāṃtamūla I, as we have seen, has been credited with the performance of the *agnihotra*, *agniṣṭoma*, *vājapeya* and *aśvamedha* sacrifices. Evidently Buddhism suffered during the reign of this king.

With the accession of Māṭharīputra Virapurisadata on the Ikṣvāku throne, a new era began with the Buddhists of the Kistna-Guntur region. The great *stūpas* of Jaggayyapetta and Nagarjunikonda were built, repaired or extended, and Buddhist Therīs were coming for pilgrimage from all the Buddhist countries of the world to this centre of Buddhism. The mention of Sīhala-vihāra and of the dedication of a *cetiyaghara* specially to the Therīs of Ceylon points to the good relation that must have existed between the Buddhist communities of the Ikṣvāku country and their co-religionists of the Island of Ceylon. Thus we see, Buddhism was in its heyday at the time of the later Ikṣvākus.

The existence of such relations among the Buddhist communities of the different countries can be accounted for from the sea-trade which was carried on between the ports of Ceylon and other countries on the one hand and those situated on the mouths of the Krishna and the Godavari on the other. Kaṇṭakasela, the great emporium on the bank of the Krishna, appears to have played a large part in this international trade. Dr. Vogel seems to be right in thinking that this trade was largely responsible for the flourishing state of Buddhism in this part of India (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 10).

The collapse of Buddhism in the lower Krishna valley appears to have begun with the decline of the Ikṣvāku power. As a cause of this collapse, Vogel refers to the " rising of the powerful dynasties devoted to Brahmanism like the

Pallava in the South and the Chālukya in the west." It must however also be added that the immediate successors of the Ikṣvākus in the rule of Andhradeśa were all staunch Brahmanist. After the decline of the Ikṣvākus, we know, the Kistna-Guntur region passed to the Bṛhatphalāyanas and the Pallavas. Both of these dynasties were Brahmanical Hindu, and the latter claimed to have performed the *aśvamedha* sacrifice which is evidently a sign of aggressive Hinduism. Bṛhatphalāyana Jayavarman, as we shall see, was a devotee of Lord Maheśvara. The Pallava king Śivaskandavarman is known to have performed not only the Brahmanical sacrifices, Aśvamedha and Agniṣṭoma, but also the Vājapeya (*Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 2). The significant boast of the early Pallava princes of having been *Dharma*-mahārāja and *Kaliyuga-doṣ-āvasanna-dharmm-oddharaṇa-nitya-sannaddha* undoubtedly refers to the fact that they were determined to purify their Brahmanical faith from the influence of heretical doctrines like Buddhism. Not a single king of the Śālaṅkāyana and Viṣṇukuṇḍin lines is as yet known to have Buddhist leaning. On the contrary, we have a Śālaṅkāyana king who performed one Aśvamedha sacrifice and a Viṣṇukuṇḍin king who performed no less than eleven Aśvamedhas and thousand Agniṣṭomas. The decline of Buddhism in the Andhra country is also evidenced by the account of the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang who visited An-to-lo (Andhra) and To-na-kie-tse-kia (Dhānyakaṭaka) or Ta-An-to-lo (Mahāndhra) in 639 A.D. and resided at the capital of the latter for "many months" (see *An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1913-14, p. 38). Nevertheless Buddhism did not die away all at once. The Buddhist faith of an Ānanda king of Guntur, who appears to have ruled about the end of the 4th century or the beginning of the 5th, clearly shows that Buddhism lingered in the Andhra country, although the glory it enjoyed at the time of the later Sātavāhanas and the Ikṣvākus

was long a thing of the past. Later traces of Buddhism in the Amarāvatī region are found in the Amaravati pillar inscription (*S. Ind. Ins.*, I, pp. 26-27) of the Pallava chief Siṃhavarman (*c.* A. D. 1100), probably a vassal of Kulottuṅga Cola I (Sewell, *List*, p. 90), and another Amaravati pillar inscription of Koṭa Keta II, from which we know that " Buddhist worship at the old *stūpa* was still maintained and Keta II gave grants in its support " (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 146 ; Sewell, *op. cit.*, *s. v.* A.D. 1182). Another inscription records the grant of a lamp to the Buddhist *stūpa* of Amarāvatī, made by Bayyalā, daughter of the Nātavāḍi chief Rudra. This also shows that Buddhist worship was maintained in the Andhra country as late as A.D. 1234 (Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 141).

CHAPTER II.

THE BṚHATPHALĀYANAS.

I

JAYAVAMMA (=JAYAVARMAN).

A copper-plate grant of a *rājā* (*mahārāja*, according to the legend of the seal attached to the plates) named Jayavamma, who belonged to the Bṛhatphalāyana gotra, was discovered at Kondamudi in the Tenali taluka of the Kistna district (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 315).[1] No other king of this family is as yet known from inscriptions or other sources.

As regards the date of king Jayavarman, Hultzsch says (*loc. cit.*): "The alphabet of his inscription shows that he must have lived in the same period as the Pallava king Sivaskandavarman who issued the Mayidavolu plates. Further, the language and phraseology of the inscription are so similar to the Nasik inscriptions of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (Nos. 4 and 5) and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi (No. 3) that Jayavarman's date cannot have been very distant from that of those two Andhra kings. The archaic Sanskrit alphabet of the seal of the new plates is corroborative evidence in the same direction." King Jayavarman Bṛhatphalāyana may be placed about the closing years of the third and the beginning of the fourth century A. D.

[1] According to Sewell (*List*, p. 17), "it is just *possible* that it (*i.e.*, the name *Jayavarman*) may have been a name assumed by Bappa (*i.e.*, father of Pallava Sivaskandavarman." The suggestion however is utterly untenable in view of the fact that Jayavarman of the Kondamudi plates belonged to the Bṛhatphalāyana gotra while the Pallavas are known to have belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra. See my note in *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VIII, p. 106.

The grant was issued in the 10th year of Jayavarman's reign from the *vijaya-skandhāvāra* (victorious camp) of Kudūra (modern Guduru, 4 miles north-west of Masulipatam) which seems to be the same as Koddoura, mentioned in the Geography of Ptolemy (VII, i, 15) as a place in Maisôlia (Masulipatam).[1]

The Kondamudi plates record an order of king Jayavarman, who has been described as *mahessara-pāda-pariggahīta* and was, therefore, evidently a devotee of Śiva (Maheśvara), to the *vāpata* (*vyāpṛta*) at Kudūra to execute the grant of a Brahmadeya (religious gift to Brāhmaṇas) made by the king. *Vyāpṛta*, according to Hemachandra, is the same as *niyogin*, *āyukta* and *karmasaciva* (cf. *niyogī karmasaciva āyukto vyāpṛtaś = ca saḥ*). A *vyāpṛta* was therefore an executive officer. The Brahmadeya was made of the village of Pāṃtura (Panduru in the Bandar or Masulipatam taluka according to Dubreuil) in Kudūrahāra, *i.e.*, the *āhāra* or district of Kudūra (*cf.* Sātavāhani-hāra in the Myakadoni inscription of Pulumāvi, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 154). It is therefore apparent that the *vyāpṛta* was in charge of the Kudūra district and held his office at the chief town of the same name.

Scholars think that Kudūrahāra of the Kondamudi grant is the same as the Kudrāhāra-viṣaya of the Sālaṅkāyana inscriptions and Gudrāhāra, Gudrāvāra and Gudrāra of later inscriptions. The identification may not be impossible. It is, in that case, necessary to think that Kudūrahāra which originally meant "the *āhāra* of Kudūra" gradually came to be used as a place-name itself; because Kudrāhāra (not Kudūra) was the name of the *viṣaya* (province) at the time of the Sālaṅkāyanas.[2] According to Dubreuil this province

[1] The town of Kudūra is also mentioned in an inscription of Amarāvatī (see Lüders, *List*, No. 1295).

[2] Compare Kheṭaka *āhāra* and Khetakāhāra *viṣaya* (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 382).

comprised roughly the present Bandar (Masulipatam) taluka. This region, occupied once by the Bṛhatphalāyanas, was, as we shall see later on, in the possession of the Śālaṅkāyanas of Veṅgī in the 5th century A. D.

The recipients of the Brahmadeya were the following Brahmans :—Gotama-gota-jāyāpara [1] Savagataja (Sarvaguptārya), Savigija of the Tānava (Tānavya) gotra ; Goginaja and Bhavamnaja of the Kodina (Kauṇḍinya) gotra ; Rudavaṇhuja (Rudraviṣṇvārya) of the Bhāradāya (Bhāradvāja) gotra, Rudaghosaja (Rudraghoṣārya) of the Opamamnava (Aupamanyava gotra) ; Īsaradataja (Īśvaradattārya) of the Kāṃṇhāyana (Kārṣṇāyana) gotra ; and Khamdarudaja (Skandarudrārya) of the Kosika (Kauśika) gotra. The affix - *aja* (=*ārya*) added to the names of these Brāhmaṇas survives even to the present time in Madrasi names like Veṅkayya (Veṅkārya), Rāmayya (Rāmārya), etc., and in the surname Ayyar (=Ārya).

The *parihāras* (immunities) granted are interesting to note. They are *apāvesa, anomasa, aloṇakhādaka, araṭhasavinayika,* etc. Apāvesa is evidently the same as *abhaṭapraveśa* (exemption from the entrance of an army) of other South Indian inscriptions. Military authorities generally called upon the villagers to meet their demands ; this fact is proved by a record of Mahāsāmantādhipati Śāntivarman of Banavāsī. Good governments therefore tried to minimise the exactions of the soldiers by preventing them from entering the villages. Śukra (V. 84) says that soldiers should encamp outside a village and should not enter villages except on official business. *Anomasa* has been taken to mean "exemption from being meddled with." The third *parihāra*, viz., *aloṇakhādaka*, made the village free from being dug for salt. The salt-mines of the country

[1] The word *jāyāpara*, according to Sanskrit lexicons, means *kāmuka*, which meaning does not seem to be applicable here. Hultzsch thinks that the passage possibly means a "*gṛhastha* belonging to the Gautama-gotra" (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 316).

were evidently property of the king. The term *arathasavinayika* has been translated by Senart as "not to be interfered by the District Police."[1]

The grant was executed by the *mahātagivara, mahādaṇḍanāyaka* (field-marshal?) Bhāpahānavaṃma. *Mahātagivara,*

[1] A learned discussion on the subject of *parihāras* by Senart is to be found in Ep. Ind., VII, pp. 65-76. "The cognate inscriptions have no doubt as to the privileges which were expressly mentioned here ; we have to restore *anomasaṃ aloṇakhādakaṃ araṭhasaṃvinayikaṃ savajātapārihārikaṃ*. The translation is less certain than the reading. Regarding *apāvesaṃ*, in Sanskrit *aprāveśyaṃ*, it is sufficient to refer to Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 98, note. *Anomasa* represents *anavamriśyaṃ* ; its certain equivalent in later terminology, namely, *samastarājakīyānāṃ ahastaprakshepaṇīyaṃ* (*ibid.*, p. 171, note) seems to imply that the royal officers were prohibited from taking possession of anything belonging to the village. For *aloṇakhādaka* the later inscriptions offer several equivalents *alavaṇakreṇikhanaka* which Bühler (p. 101) has already quoted (Dr. Fleet's No. 55, l. 28, and No. 56), *aloṇaguḷachchhobha* in line 32 of the plates of Śivaskandavarman (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 6) and *salohalavaṇākara* in line 17 of the plates of Govindachandra (*ibid.*, Vol. IV., p. 106). These words are far from clear ; but if we remember the fact that the production of salt is a royal monopoly (Bühler in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 2, note) and the details quoted by Bhagwanlal (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVI, p. 556, p. 179) regarding the manner of digging the soil for salt which prevailed in the very region of our inscriptions, it seems to me that the explanation proposed by Bhagwanlal, *viz.*, *alavaṇakhātaka* with the Prakrit softening of *t* into *d*, is quite satisfactory. The object of this immunity would thus be to deny to the representatives of the king the right of digging pits for extracting salt.

"The next term seems to be written in our inscriptions *araṭhasavinayika* or *śavinavika* ; but line 12 of the grant of Śivaskandavarman (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 6) distinctly reads *araṭṭhasaṃvinayikaṃ*. In stating that this spelling excluded his earlier explanation, Bühler did not suggest another instead of it. I do not know any parallel expression which clears up this one finally. The word seems to represent *arāshṭrasaṁvinayika* ; but etymology alone is an unsafe guide in the interpretation of technical terms. *Vineti* is only used in a moral sense. Could we think of translating : 'exempted from the police, the magistrate of the district (*rāshṭra* ; compare Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 32, note), or of the *rāshṭrin*' ? This would remind us of those grants in which, on the other hand, it is stated that the right of punishing thefts and offences is reserved by the king, or of those in which the right to punish the 'ten offences' (*sadaśāparadha* ; see, *e.g.*, the Alina plates, l. 67 in Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 179, and the Deo-Baranārk inscription, l. 17 ; *ibid.*, p. 217) is transferred to the donee. At least I have nothing more plausible to suggest. It is well known that the different formulas of immunities were variable and always incomplete. And it is not to be wondered at that they should be summed up in a comprehensive and general expression like *sarvajātapārihārika*. Elsewhere the texts are more precise in stating that there are eighteen kinds of immunities. It will be enough to quote the inscriptions of the Pallavas, and notably that of Śivaskandavarman, which reads *aṭṭhārasajātiparihāra* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 6)."

according to Vogel, is a mistake for *Mahātalavara* which occurs so many times in the inscriptions of the Ikṣvākus (see *above*). Possibly it was the custom for an official to write down the oral order of the king (*aviyena ānataṃ*). The grant is said to have been signed by the king himself (*sayaṃ chato*).

The seal attached to the Kondamudi plates has, in the centre, a trident in relief (the handle of which seems to end in an arrow), a bow (?), the crescent of the moon and an indistinct symbol of roughly triangular shape. Round the margin of the seal runs a Sanskrit legend in archaic characters which differ totally from those employed on the plates (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 315). This difference is possibly due to the fact that the seals were kept ready in the king's record office and were attached to the plates when the latter were prepared. Hultszch appears to suggest that the seal is much older than the plates. The Sanskrit legend however seems to show that the seal cannot be placed much earlier than 300 A.D.

II

CAPITAL OF THE BṚHATPHALĀYANAS.[1]

The only copper-plate grant of the Bṛhatphalāyana dynasty, belonging to king Jayavamma (= Jayavarman) Bṛhatphalāyana, was discovered, as we have already seen, at Kondamudi a place in the Tenali taluka of the Kistna district (*Ep. Ind.*, VI., p. 315). We have also seen that the grant was issued in the 10th regnal year of Jayavamma from *vijaya-khaṃdhāvārā nagarā Kudūrālo, i.e.* from the *vijaya-skandhāvāra* at the city of Kudūra. It is for this reason that scholars have taken Kudūra (modern Guduru near Masulipatam) to be the capital where the Bṛhatphalāyanas ruled. Prof. Dubreuil, as for instance, writes: "The Kondamudi plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 315) are dated in the 10th year of king Jayavarman of the Bṛhatphalāyanas, who reigned at Kudūra ;" and again: " the town of Kudūra, which was the capital of Jayavarman in the III century of the Christian era, is but the modern village of Guduru which is 4 miles west-north-west of Masulipatam and 6 miles from Ghaṇṭaśālā......" (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, pp. 84-85). The Professor has rightly identified the place with Koddoura in the country of Maisôlia (Masulipatam), mentioned in the Geography of Ptolemy.

It is, however, interesting to note that Koddoura 136° 11° 20′ has been mentioned not as a metropolis, but as an ordinary place in Maisôlia (*Geog.*, VII, i, 15) by Ptolemy who is believed to have written his Geography about the middle of the 2nd century A.D. The archaic

[1] My paper on the capital of the Bṛhatphalāyanas was originally published in *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VII, pp. 170-1. There however Jayavarman was placed a little earlier.

characters used on the seal of the Kondamudi grant and its phraseological connection with the grants of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi, as well as its language and script, assign the grant to about 300 A.D. Should we then believe that the Bṛhatphalāyanas became a ruling power just after the decline of the Sātavāhanas in the early years of the 3rd century A.D. and established themselves at Kudūra (Koddoura) from where they issued charters as early as the end of the third or the beginning of the 4th century? It is, however, far more natural to think that they were originally a local ruling power under the suzerainty of the Sātavāhanas and gradually rose to prominence during and after the latter's decline.

The city of Kudūra has been called a *vijaya-skandhāvāra* in the Kondamudi grant. The word *skandhāvāra* generally means "a camp;" but according to the lexicographer Hemacandra it may also signify "a metropolis." While on expedition, oriental kings are known to have held court in camps [1] The use of the term *skandhāvāra* in the sense of a metropolis is most probably due to such a practice. *Skandhāvāra* (as sometimes also possibly the term *vāsaka*) appears to mean a temporary residence, and therefore a temporary capital, of a king.[2] It is, therefore,

[1] For the court of the Mughals, see *General History of the Mogol Empire* (extracted from Memoirs of M. Manouchi) by F. F. Catrou (Bangabāsī Edn.), p. 335ff. "As *Visapur* was at the time of writing these Memoirs the theatre of war against the *Sevagi*, *Orangzeb* removed his court and armies thither."—p. 343. *Cf.* also "During these years (*i.e.*, the years of Asiatic campaign) Alexander's camp was his court and capital, the political centre of his empire—a vast city rolling along over mountain and river through Central Asia."—J. B. Bury, *History of Greece for Beginners*, 1915, p. 422.

[2] It is interesting in this connection to refer to Yuan Chwang's account of the capital of Mahārāṣṭra (Mo-ho-la-ch'a) under Pulakeśin II (Pu-lo-ki-she) of the Western Calukya dynasty (Beal, *Bud. Records of the Western World*, II, p. 235; also his *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 146). From the inscriptions of the Calukyas and their inveterate enemy, the Pallavas, there can be no doubt that the capital of Pulakeśin II was at Vātāpi, modern Bādāmi in the Bijapur district of the Bombay Presidency. Now,

very doubtful whether the *vijaya skandhāvāra* of king Jayavarman Bṛhatphalāyana could be the permanent capital of the Bṛhatphalāyanas.

The town of Kudūra, which was the political centre of Kudūrahāra, *i.e.*, the Kudūra district, has been identified, as we have already seen, with a village in the Bandar or Masulipatam taluka. The find of the plates at Kondamudi appears to prove that this region was a part of the Bṛhatphalāyana kingdom in about 300 A.D. The capital of the Bṛhatphalāyanas seems therefore not to have been very far from the Masulipatam region.

In this connection it is very interesting to note that Ptolemy makes mention of the *metropolis of Pitundra* (135° 12°) in the country of the people called Maisôloi (*Geog.*, VII. i, § 93). In *op. cit.*, § 79, the Maisôloi are placed near the country of the Salakênoi (Sālaṅkāyanas of Veṅgī) and in § 15 their country has been called Maisôlia (Masulipatam). Their metropolis, Pitundra, has been identified by Sylvain Lèvi with Pihunda of the *Uttarādhyāyana* and Pithuṃḍa of the Hathigumpha inscription of king Khāravela (*Ind. Ant*, 1926, p. 145). We have seen that the Bṛhatphalāyanas ruled over the Masulipatam region, which is to be identified with Maisôlia of Ptolemy. Pitundra the capital of Maisôlia in the time of Ptolemy (middle of the 2nd century) appears therefore almost certainly to have been the capital of the family of Jayavarman Bṛhatpha-

the surroundings of Bādāmi, as scholars have noticed, do not answer to the description given by the Chinese pilgrim, and its distance from Broach (435 miles) is altogether incommensurate with the distance of 1000 *li* (about 167 miles) as specified by Yuan Chwang. Scholars therefore now generally agree with the view of Fleet that the town in question is Nasik, about 128 miles to the south-east of Broach. Fleet seems to be right when he suggests: "We have therefore to look for some subordinate but important town, far to the north of Bādāmi, which was mistakenly spoken of as the capital by Hiuen Tsiang; most probably because it was the basis of the operations against Harshavardhana of Kanauj, and because in connection with these operations, Pulikeśi II happened to be there at the time" (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, Pt. ii, p. 355).

lāyana, ruler of the Masulipatam region in the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 4th century.

If we now accept the reading *Pithuṃda* in a passage of the Hathigumpha inscription (line 11) of Khāravela and the interpretation that king Khāravela of Kaliṅga besieged the city of Pithuṃḍa, it is not impossible to think that the Bṛhatphalāyanas were ruling at Pithunda = Pitundra as early as the time of Khāravela (2nd or 1st century B.C.).

CHAPTER III.

THE ĀNANDAS.

I

HIRAṆYAGARBHA.[1]

As the word *Hiraṇyagarbha* has some bearing on the question of the genealogy of kings whom we call the Ānandas, we shall deal with this term first.

According to Sanskrit Lexicons, the word *Hiraṇya-garbha* has two principal meanings. First, it is a well-known epithet of Lord Brahman; secondly, it is the name of one of the *ṣoḍaśa-mahādāna, i.e.*, the sixteen Great Gifts which are enumerated and explained in books like the *Matsya-Purāṇa*, Hemādri's *Vratakhaṇḍa* and Ballālasena's *Dānasāgara*. The sixteen *Mahādānas* are *dāna* (offering) of the following things:—

1.	Tulāpuruṣa	9.	Dharā
2.	Hiraṇyagarbha	10.	Hiraṇyāśvaratha
3.	Brahmāṇḍa	11.	Hemahastiratha
4.	Kalpapādapa	12.	Viṣṇucakra
5.	Gosahasra	13.	Kalpalatā
6.	Hiraṇyakāmadhenu	14.	Saptasāgara
7.	Hiraṇyāśva	15.	Ratnadhenu
8.	Pañcalāṅgala	16.	Mahābhūtaghaṭa

These names are more or less of a technical character. They have been explained in full details in the *Mahādānāvarta*

[1] This paper was published in *J.R.A.S.*, October, 1934, p. 729ff. A paper explaining the term *hiraṇyagarbha* was previously published in *Bhāratbarṣa* (Bengali), Bhādra, 1340 B. S., p. 393 f.

section of the *Dānasāgara*, Chapter V of the *Vratakhaṇḍa* and Chapter 247 ff. of the *Matsya-Purāṇa*.

The word *Hiraṇyagarbha* occurs several times in the inscriptions of some South Indian kings. In the Gorantla inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 102 f.), king Attivarman is called *aprameya-hiraṇyagarbha-prasava*, which phrase was translated by Fleet, the editor of the Gorantla inscription, as " who is the posterity of the inscrutable (god) Hiraṇyagarbha," *i.e.*, Brahman. In the Mahakuta pillar inscription of the Calukya king Maṅgaleśa (*ibid*, XIX, p. 9 ff.) we have the passage *hiraṇyagarbha-saṃbhūta*. Here also Fleet who edited the inscription translated the phrase as " who was descended from (the god) Hiraṇyagarbha (Brahman)." It must be noticed that only particular kings have been connected with Hiraṇyagarbha in the inscriptions of their respective families. If Fleet's interpretation is correct we should have found other kings of the family—wherein one king has been called *Hiraṇyagarbha-saṃbhūta*—with titles of the same signification. Moreover, when we notice that in the Mahakuta pillar inscription, this epithet is given only to Pulakeśin I, and not to Jayasiṃha the first king mentioned, nor to Maṅgaleśa the reigning monarch, there remains no doubt that Fleet's theory is unjustifiable. I therefore hold with Hultzsch that the word *Hiraṇyagarbha*, in these inscriptions, signifies the second of the sixteen *Mahādānas* or Great Gifts.

While editing the Mattepad plates of Dāmodarvarman (*Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 328ff.), Hultzsch remarked : " A similar feat is ascribed to king Attivarman in another copper-plate grant from the Guntur district, where I translate the epithet *aprameya-Hiraṇyagarbha-prasavena* by ' who is a producer of (*i.e.*, who has performed) innumerable Hiraṇyagarbhas.' " Hultzsch, here, evidently takes the passage *hiraṇyagarbha-prasava* as a case of the *Ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa* compound to mean " *prasava* (origin, producer) of the

Hiraṇyagarbha." But he was in difficulty with the word *Hiraṇyagarbha-prasūta* which occurs in the Ipur grant (No. 1) of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I (*ibid*, p. 335 f.). As *prasūta* is an adjective, it cannot make a case of the *Ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa* compound. Hultzsch, therefore, had to correct the passage as *Hiraṇyagarbha-prasūti*, *i.e.*, *prasūti* (origin, producer) of the Hiraṇyagarbha (*ibid*, p. 336, note 7). But when we notice that the epithet *Hiraṇyagarbha-prasūta* also occurs in the Polamuru plates of the same Viṣṇukuṇḍin king (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VI, p. 17 ff.), and further that the Mahakuta pillar inscription has *Hiraṇyagarbha-saṃbhūta*, there can be no doubt that Hultzsch is wrong in taking the passage *Hiraṇyagarbha-prasava* as a case of the *Ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa* compound. The words *Hiraṇyagarbha-prasūta* and *Hiraṇyagarbha-saṃbhūta* are certainly examples of the *Pañcamī-tatpuruṣa* compound and mean "born of the Hiraṇyagarbha." The word *Hiraṇyagarbha-prasava* must also mean the same thing. I therefore take it as a case of the *Bahuvrīhi* compound to mean "one whose *prasava* (origin, producer, progenitor) is the *Hiraṇyagarbha*." But how can a king be born of the Hiraṇyagarbha which we have taken to signify the second of the sixteen Mahādānas ?

In the performance of the Hiraṇyagarbha-mahādāna ceremony, the thing to be given away to the Brahmanas is a *Hiraṇyagarbha*, literally, "a golden womb." Hiraṇyagarbha here signifies a golden *kuṇḍa*, three cubits in height. *Cf.*

brāhmaṇair = ānayet kuṇḍaṃ tapanīya-mayaṃ śubham
dvāsaptaty-aṅgul-occhrāyaṃ hema-paṅkaja-garbhavat.

To discuss in details all the functions of the ceremony is not necessary for our purpose. The quotations, which are all from the 249th Chapter of the *Matsya-Purāṇa*, will sufficiently clear the point.

After due *arcanā*, the performer of the Mahādāna ceremony is to utter a *mantra* in adoration to Lord Hiraṇyagarbha (here, Lord Viṣṇu), two lines of which run :

bhūr-loka-pramukhā lokās=tava garbhe vyavasthitāḥ
bram-ādayas=tathā devā namas=te viśva-dhāriṇe.

Thereafter the performer enters into the *hiraṇyagarbha*, *i.e.*, the golden *kuṇḍa*, and the priests perform the ceremonies of *garbhādhāna*, *puṃsavana* and *sīmantonnayana* of the "golden womb," as they would do in the case of an ordinary pregnant woman. *Cf.*

evam=āmantrya tan-madhyam=āvisy=āmbha udaṅ-mukhaḥ
muṣṭibhyāṃ parisaṃgṛhya dharmarāja-caturmukau
jānumadhye śiraḥ kṛtvā tiṣṭheta śvāsa-pañcakam
garbhādhānaṃ puṃsavanaṃ sīmantonnayaṃ tathā
kuryur=hiraṇya-garbhasya tatas=te dvija-puṅgavāḥ.

Then the performer is taken out of the "golden womb," and the *jāta-karma* and other necessary functions are performed by the priests, as if the performer is a newly born child. After that, the performer is to utter another *mantra*, wherein occur the following significant lines :

mātr=ahaṃ janitaḥ pūrvaṃ martya-dharmā sur-ottama
tvad-garbha-saṃbhavād=eṣa divya-deho bhavamy=aham.

"O the best of gods, previously I was given birth to by my mother (and) was *martya-dharmā* (one having the qualities of an earthly creature). (But) now owing to my (re-) birth from your womb, I become *divya-deha* (one having celestial body."

That the performer of the *Hiraṇyagarbha-mahādāna* was thought to be " born of the Hiraṇyagarbha, *i.e.*, golden womb," is also clear from the next *mantra* to be uttered by the priests :

adya-jātasya te='ṅgāni abhiṣekṣyāmahe vayam.

After the ceremony is over, the priests receive the gift of that golden womb together with many other things.

II

Genealogy of the Ānanda Kings.[1]

Two kings of the Ānanda family are known from their inscriptions. They are Attivarman of the Gorantla plates (*Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 102 f.) and Dāmodarvarman of the Mattepad plates (*Ep. Ind.*, XVII. p. 327 f.). We have already dealt with the reference to the word *Hiraṇyagarbha* in the Gorantla inscription and with its different interpretations. Hultzsch rightly says: "When editing the Gorantla plates of Attivarman, my late lamented friend Fleet believed this king (*scil.* Attivarman) to have been a Pallava—chiefly because he interpreted the epithet *aprameya-Hiraṇyagarbha-prasavena* by 'who is the posterity of the inscrutable (god) Hiraṇyagarbha.' As I have shown above, the rendering is inadmissible in the light of the corresponding epithet used in the fresh plates, and Fleet himself had since withdrawn his original opinion in his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, second edition,[2] p. 334" (*Ep. Ind.*, XVII. 328). In the Gorantla inscription, Attivarman has been called *kandaranṛpati-kula-samudbhūta*, "sprung from the family of king Kandara"; the family (*kula*), in its turn, is called *ānanda-maharṣi-vaṃśa-samudbhūta*, "sprung from the

[1] See my note on the Ānanda Genealogy in *J.R.A.S.*, October, 1934, p. 732 ff.

[2] "And now that we know more about the early history and Purāṇic genealogy of the Pallavas, it is difficult to adapt these details to their accounts, though Attivarman does, like the Pallavas, claim to belong to the posterity of the god Hiraṇyagarbha, *i.e.*, Brahman. On the other hand, the name Kandhara,—and doubtless Kandara also,—is a variant of Kṛishṇa; and this suggests that we may possibly have here an early Rāshṭrakūṭa record" (Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* in *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, Part II, p. 334).

lineage of the great sage Ānanda ". On the other hand, the Mattepad plates were issued from *vijaya*-Kandara-pura, " victorious city (founded by) king Kandara." Dāmodaravarman is, here, said to have belonged to the Ānanda-gotra. Both the Gorantla and Mattepad grants were discovered in the Guntur district of the Madras Presidency. While editing the Mattepad plates, Hultzsch, on these grounds, suggested that the three kings Kandara,[1] Attivarman and Dāmodaravarman belonged to the same family and that they may be styled " the Ānanda kings of Guntur."

The palaeography of the Gorantla and Mattepad records suggests that the rule of king Attivarman and that of king Dāmodarvarman were not separated by a great interval. Considering the facts that the characters of the Gorantla inscription resemble, in some respects, those of the Ikṣvāku inscriptions of Nagarjunikonda (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 1 ff.) and that both Nagarjunikonda, the find-spot of some Ikṣvāku inscriptions, and Kanteru, that of some Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions are localities of the Guntur district, it seems to me that the Ānanda kings, whose inscriptions are also found in the same district, began to grow powerful about the middle of the 4th century A.D., when the power of the Pallava successors of the Ikṣvākus was gradually

1 Venkayya in his Report for 1900, pp. 5 and 35, refers to a much defaced Sanskrit inscription mentioning the daughter of king Kandara of the Ānandagotra, at Chezarla to the west of Guntur. Kandara, Kandhara, Kandhāra, Kanhara, Kanhāra and Kannara are Prakrit variants of the Sanskrit name Kṛṣṇa (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, Pt. II, p. 410, note 1). Some inscriptions of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti style the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III as *Kandhāra-puravar-ādhīśvara*, supreme lord of Kandhārapura, the best of towns (*ibid*, pp. 419, 550 and note 6; and 384, note 4). This fact appears to have led Fleet to suggest a Rāṣṭrakūṭa connection of Attivarman (*ibid*, 386). But as suggested by the same scholar (*ibid*, 384, note 4) the name of Kandhārapura " may possibly have been invented from an imaginary Kṛishṇapura, derived from some passage similar to that in which the Eastern Chalukya King Guṇaka Vijayāditya III is said to have effected the burning of the city of Kṛishṇa II (*Krishṇa-pura-dāhana*, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 102, n. 6)."

declining in the Andhra country. The Nagarjunikoṇda inscriptions have been assigned to the 3rd century A.D. and, as I shall show below, the Kanteru plates are to be ascribed to the 5th century A.D. Kings Attivarman and Dāmodaravarman may, therefore, be conjecturally placed about the second half of the 4th century of the Christian era.

But which of the two kings of the Ānanda family came earlier ? According to Hultzsch, the characters of the Gorantla inscription are more developed than those of the Mattepad grant which is besides partly written in Prakrit ; " consequently Dāmodaravarman must have been one of the predecessors of Attivarman " (*Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 328).

As regards the first point, *viz.*, that the characters of the Gorantla inscription are more developed, I must say that when two epigraphs belong to the same period it is extremely difficult to determine as to which of them is the earlier. In our section on the Viṣṇukuṇḍin genealogy below, we shall show that the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman II of the Ipur grant (No. 2) was suggested by Hultzsch, on *palaeographical* grounds, to have been the grandfather of Mādhavavarman (I) of the Ipur grant (No. 1). We shall also show there that the former was actually not the grandfather, but the grandson, of the latter.[1] Since the handwritings of two different scribes of even the same age may be quite dissimilar, I do not think it impossible that the difference in time between the execution of the Mattepad and that of the Gorantla grant is short and that Dāmodaravarman of the Mattepad grant was a successor of Attivarman on the throne of Kandarapura.[2]

[1] See also my paper on the genealogy of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 278 ff.

[2] *Cf.* " Not only the plates of the Pallavas but also those of the Gaṅgas and the Kadambas prove that the alphabets differ much according to the scribes, who have engraved the plates ; and the documents of the same reign do not sometimes resemble one another." (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, pp. 65-66.)

As regards the second point, *viz.*, that the Mattepad grant is partly written in Prakrit, I am afraid, it is a misrepresentation. In fact, the Mattepad plates are, like the Gorantla plates, written in Sanskrit; but it is true that the names of the Brāhmaṇa recipients of the king's gift are written in Prakrit, *e.g.*, Kassava-Kumārajja (Sanskrit: Kāśyapa-Kumārārya), etc. We must notice, however, that the Gorantla inscription also exhibits the same peculiarity. I think it even more significant that the name of the king is here *Attivarman* and not Hastivarman. *Atti* is a Dravidic form of Sanskrit *hastin*, through the literary Prakrit from *hatthi*. Names like Attivarman,[1] Kumārajja, etc., only prove that both these grants were issued in a time when the replacement of Prakrit by Sanskrit in South Indian epigraphy was nearly, but not fully, complete.

There are, besides, two other points in support of our suggestion. Firstly, in the Gorantla inscription, the *kandara-nṛpati-kula* has been called *bhagavato vakeśvarādhivāsinas=tribhuvana-kartuḥ śaṃbhoś=caraṇa-kamala-rajaḥ-pavitrīkṛta*, which appears to suggest that Sambhu (Siva) was the family deity of the Ānanda kings and that they were Śaivas. On the other hand, Dāmodaravarman is called in his inscription *bhagavataḥ samyaksaṃbuddhasya pādānudhyāta*, which clearly shows that he was a Buddhist. If the Ānanda kings prior to Attivarman were Śaivas, Dāmodaravarman who was a Buddhist would appear to have come after Attivarman. Secondly, the inscribed faces of the Mattepad plates of Dāmodaravarman are "numbered consecutively like the pages of a modern book." This fact also

[1] With the name of Attivarman may be compared that of Attimallar, a feudatory of the Cola king Rājarāja (*S.Ind.Ins.*, I, No. 74). Attimallar was also the surname of Kṛṣṇa III Rāṣṭrakūṭa. Compare also Attivarman in Kielhorn's *List*, No. 1070; and "Attirāja or Attarasa, born at Nāraṇapura in the Andhra country" in *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, Pt. II, p. 507

seems to suggest that Dāmodaravarman came after Attivarman.

But, what was the relationship between these two kings of the Ānanda family, who, we think, were not far removed from each other in time?

In this connection, I like to draw the attention of readers to the epithet *abandhya-gosahasr-āneka-hiraṇyagarbh--odbhav-odbhava* applied to the name of king Dāmodaravarman in the Mattepad plates. This epithet has been translated by Hultzsch as "who is the origin of the production (*i.e.*, who has caused the performance) of many Hiraṇyagarbhas and of (gifts of) thousand pregnant cows." This translation is defective for several reasons.

We have seen that Hultzsch has wrongly interpreted the passage *hiraṇyagarbha-prasava* as the "producer of the Hiraṇyagarbha." As we have shown, it should mean "one whose producer is the Hiraṇyagarbha." The corresponding passage of the Mattepad plates is *hiraṇyagarbh-odbhava*, which means exactly the same thing. Hultzsch says: "he (*scil.* Dāmodaravarman) boasts of having performed certain Brahmanical rites, *viz.*, Gosahasra and Hiraṇyagarbha (l. 2 f.)." But it seems to me hardly tenable that Dāmodaravarman who was professedly a Buddhist performed these rites which are professedly Brahmanical. Besides, if Hultzsch's interpretation is right, why did the composer use *hiraṇyagarbh-odbhav-odbhava* and not *hiraṇyagarbh-odbhava* which is the naturally expected form? The use of *hiraṇyagarbh-odbhav-odbhava* in the sense of "performer of the Hiraṇyagarbha" seems to me highly awkward in an ordinary prose composition. The natural meaning of the phrase *hiraṇyagarbh-odbhav-odbhava* is "one whose *udbhava* (producer, father) is Hiraṇyagarbh-odbhava (*i.e.*, performer of the Hiraṇyagarbha-mahādāna)."

As regards *abandhya-gosahasra*, I do not think that the word *abandhya* ever means "pregnant." *Abandhya*, *i.e.*,

not-barren, which also means *amogha-phal-odaya* (producer of unfailing good and prosperity) according to the Sanskrit lexicon *Rājanirghaṇṭa,* seems to refer not to *go* as Hultzsch has taken it, but to the Gosahasra, the fifth of the sixteen Mahādānas of the *Purāṇas.* The whole phrase *abandhya-gosahasr-āneka-hiraṇya-garbh-odbhav-odbhava,* then, means " one whose *udbhava* (*i.e.,* father) is Abandhyagosahasra (*i.e.,* performer of a Gosahasra producing unfailing success) and Aneka-hiraṇyagarbh-odbhava (*i.e* , performer of many Hiraṇyagarbhas).

Now, who is this Abandhya-gosahasra-Aneka-hiraṇya-garbh-odbhava, the *udbhava* (father) of king Dāmodaravarman ? Curiously enough, in the Gorantla inscription, Attivarman is called *aprameya-hiraṇyagarbha-prasava,* which is obviously the same as *aneka-hiraṇyagarbh-odbhava.* I therefore do not think it quite impossible that it is king Attivarman who was the father of king Dāmodaravarman of the Mattepad plates. It may however be argued that the Mattepad plates credit the father of king Dāmodaravarman with the performance of a Gosahasra as well ; but there is no reference to this Mahādāna in Attivarman's own Gorantla grant. The Gosahasra mahādāna may have been performed by Attivarman after the execution of the Gorantla grant. It may also be a case of the *Argumentum ex Silentio.*

III

ATTIVARMAN (=HASTIVARMAN).

As we have seen, the Ānanda king Attivarman was a devotee of Śambhu (Śiva) and performed "many" Hiraṇyagarbhas. The performance of such a costly *mahādāna* as the Hiraṇyagarbha for more than once (and probably also of a Gosahasra) seems to show that he was a rich and powerful prince. His epithet *pratāp-opanata-sakala-sāmanta-maṇḍala* suggests that there were other ruling chiefs who acknowledged his suzerainty. His inscription tells us that he acquired fame in ruling his subjects with justice.

The Gorantla inscription records the gift of eight hundred *paṭṭis* (pieces) of land in the village of Tāṇḷikoṇḷa on the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇabeṇṇā (*i.e.*, the Krishna; see *infra*, and *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 334 n) river and also of the village of Āntukkūra, to a Brāhmaṇa named Koṭṭiśarman, who belonged to the Kāśyapa-gotra. The name of the village, read now as *Taṇḷikoṇḷa* by Hultzsch, was originally read by Fleet as Tānthikontha (*Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 328). The village has been identified by Hultzsch with the modern Tāḍikoṇḍa, ten miles to the north of Guntur and to the south of the Krishna. Āntukkūra, according to him, is probably modern Gani-Ātkūru to the west of Bezvāḍa. The recipient Koṭṭiśarman has been described as knowing the Āpastamba-sūtra and also the three Vedas, *viz.*, *Ṛk*, *Yajus* and *Sāman*.

The seal of king Attivarman attached to the Gorantla plates is circular. "The emblem on it is probably some god, sitting cross-legged on an altar, but it is anything but clear, even in the original" (*Ind. Ant.*, IX. p. 102). The figure is shunk in the flat surface of the seal, instead of being raised in relief on a counter-sunk surface as is usually the case.

IV

Dāmodaravarman.

We have already said much about this king. The Mattepad grant was issued on the 13th day of the bright half of Kārttika in the 2nd regnal year of the king. It records the grant of the village of Kaṃgūra with all *parihāras*, to a number of Brāhmaṇas. *Parihāra, i.e.*, "immunity, privilege, exemption from taxes," is mentioned in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (Shamasastry's 2nd ed., p. 73). The *parihāras* are sometimes stated to be of eighteen kinds, but are very often referred to as *sarvajāta-parihāra* (immunities of all kinds). For some of them see pages 43-44 above. The Mattepad grant was issued from the victorious city of Kandarapura which was possibly the capital of the kings of the Ānanda line. The recipients of the grant were the following: Ruddajja (Rudrārya), Nandijja (Nandyārya), Khandajja (Skandārya), Bhavajja (Bhavārya), Agnijja (Agnyārya), Sirijja (Śryārya), Savarajja (Śabarārya) and Virajja (Vīrārya) of the Koṇḍinna (Kauṇḍinya)-gotra, Dāmajja (Dāmārya), Kumārajja (Kumārārya), Veṇujja (Viṣṇvārya), Devajja (Devārya) Nandijja and Dīnajja (Dīnārya) of the Kassava (Kāśyapa)-gotra and Bhaddajja (Bhadrārya) of the Āgasti-gotra.

The seal of Dāmodaravarman attached to the Mattepad plates is oval and is said to be much worn. It bears in relief, according to Hultzsch, the figure of a "seated bull" facing the proper right.

We do not know who succeeded Dāmodaravarman on the throne of Kandarapura. The end of the Ānanda dynasty is wrapped up in obscurity. They were possibly subdued or supplanted by the Śālaṅkāyanas in the 5th century A.D.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SĀLAṄKĀYANAS.

I

GENEALOGY OF THE SĀLAṄKĀYANAS.[1]

While editing the Kolleru (Kollair) grant of the Sālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Nandivarman, son of Caṇḍavarman, in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 175 ff. (Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions: No. XVIII), Fleet remarked: "In Sir W. Elliot's facsimiles I have [found] another copper-plate inscription of Vijayanandivarmā and his *Yuvamahārāja*, whose name seems to be Vijayatuṅgavarmā or Vijayabudhavarmā." He appended the following note to the name of the *Yuvamahārāja*: "The original has, l. 3, 'Vijayabuṅgavarmassa,' and in the margin, a little above the line, there is the character 'ddha'—differing not much from 'ṅga' as there written—apparently intended to be introduced somewhere in the line as a correction." Now, as we shall presently see, this statement regarding the inscription is really wrong and was subsequently corrected by Fleet himself. But, unfortunately, the blunder has become parmanent in later writings on the Sālaṅkāyana genealogy.

En passant, I may draw the attention of readers to the names of these kings generally accepted and used by scholars. The names can hardly be Vijayanandivarman, Vijayabuddhavarman and the like.

[1] My paper on the Sālaṅkāyana genealogy was originally published in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 208 ff.

The Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions are stated to be issued from Siri-vijaya-veṅgīpura, Vijaya-veṅgīpura or Vijaya-veṅgī. The Kadamba grants are generally issued from Śrī-vijaya-vaijayantī, Śrī-vijaya-triparvata and Śrī-vijaya-palāśikā.[1] The Mattepad plates of Dāmodaravarman (*Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 327 ff.) were issued from Vijaya-kandarapura. We have also references to Śrī-vijaya-kāñcīpura, Śrī-vijaya-palakkaḍa and Śrī-vijaya-daśanapura in some of the Pallava inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 142 ff., and I, p. 297 ; *Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 50 ff., p. 154 ff.). There can be no doubt that the names of the places are Veṅgīpura, Kāñcīpura, Vaijayantī, Palāśikā, etc., and that *vijaya* or *śrī-vijaya* has been prefixed to them simply for the sake of glorification. I have no doubt that the name of the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja of the Kollair grant is similarly Nandivarman, and not *Śrī-vijaya-* or *Vijaya*-nandivarman, as is generally taken to be. *Vijaya* and *Śrī-vijaya*, in such cases, mean *vijaya-yukta* and *Śrī-vijaya-yukta* respectively.[2] When prefixed to proper names, they make examples of the *Tatpuruṣa* compound of the *Śākapārthivādi* class. The word *jaya* is also used in this way. As for instance. Karmānta (modern [Baḍ] -Kāntā near Comilla) has been mentioned as jaya-Karmānta-vāsaka in the Ashrafpur plate of Devakhaḍga (Bhandarkar, List, No. 1588). It must also be noticed that in the Peddavegi and Kanteru (No. 2) grants the reigning Śālaṅkāyana king is simply called Nandivarman. Note also that the Pallava king Skandavarman II in his own Omgodu (No. 1) grant (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 246) calls himself Śrī-vijaya-Skandavarman, while in the Uruvupalli grant of his son Viṣṇugopavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 50) and in the Omgodu (No. 2), Pikira (*ibid.*, XV, p. 246 ; VIII. p. 159) and Mangalur (*Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 154) grants of his grandson Siṃhavarman he is simply called Skandavarman.

1 See the Kadamba grants edited by Fleet in *Ind. Ant.*, VI and VII.

2 *Cf. teṣāṃ śrī-vijayaś=c=aiva sarāṣṭrāṇāṃ bhaviṣyati* : *Mahābhā.*, I, 68, 24.

To come to our point. The first scholar who accepted the wrong information of Fleet and added thereto something of his own, seems to be Prof. Dubreuil, the author of *Ancient History of the Deccan* (Pondicherry, 1920) Before he wrote, a Prakrit copper-plate inscription of another Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Devavarman, had been discovered near Ellore. It was edited by Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 56 ff. In *Ancient History of the Deccan*, Dubreuil therefore speaks of four Śālaṅkāyana monarchs, *viz.*,

1. Devavarman of the Ellore plates,
2. Caṇḍavarman, and his son
3. Nandivarman of the Kollair plates,
4. Buddhavarman, son of (3) Nandivarman mentioned in the facsimile referred to by Fleet. As regards Buddhavarman, Dubreuil has quoted the passage of Fleet, and remarked: "This name is probably Buddhavarman, for in the margin, there is the character *dha*" (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 89). Evidently the Professor goes a step further. I do not know from which authority he learnt that the letter in the margin is *dha* and not *ddha*, as is attested by Fleet.

The mistake was next repeated by K. V. Lakshmana Rao who edited the two copper-plate grants discovered at Kanteru, one belonging to the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Nandivarman and the other to the Śālaṅkāyana Mahāraja Skandavarman.[1] Like Dubreuil, Lakshmana Rao has quoted the same passage of Fleet and has taken "Vijaya Buddhavarman" as a king belonging to the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. V, p. 26). It is to be noted that Fleet hesitatingly proposed an alternative of two names, *viz.*, Tuṅgavarman and Buddhavarman, with a

[1] *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, V, p. 26 ff. ; the plates appear to have been originally edited by the same scholar in *Journal of the Andhra Academy* or *Andhra Sāhitya-Parishat-Patrikā*, Vol. XI, p. 113 ff.

slight inclination towards the latter ; then Dubreuil showed favour for the name Buddhavarman ; and now Lakshmana Rao takes Buddhavarman as an established name in the genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyanas.

Next we come to R. Subba Rao, who has edited the Peddavegi copper-plates of the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Nandivarman II (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 92 ff.). He refers to five inscriptions belonging to the Śālaṅkāyana kings. "Of these a Prakrit inscription which was discovered by Mr. (? Sir Walter) Elliot remains unpublished : but two kings (?) mentioned in it are known to us as Vijayanandivarman Yuvamahāraja (?) and Vijayabuddhavarman. The late Mr. Lakshmana Rao edited in *Andhra Sāhitya-Parishat-Patrikā*, Vol. XI, two Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions discovered in Kanteru near Guntur and these belong to Nandivarman and Skandavarman. Another Śālaṅkāyana inscription discovered in Kallair lake and (*sic.*) which belongs to Vijaya Nandivarman, eldest son of Chaṇḍavarman, was published in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, by Mr. Elliot (? Dr. Fleet). A Prakrit inscription discovered at Ellore which belongs to Vijaya Devavarman was published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX" (*ibid.*, p. 93). By this time, everything is complete.[1]

I am afraid, these scholars have not carefully read all the inscriptions edited by Fleet in his well-known "Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions" series. It is however wrong to say that "a Prakrit inscription which was discovered by Mr. Elliot remains unpublished." It was actually published by Fleet in *Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 100 ff. (Sans. Old-Can. Ins., No. LXXIV). "This is the grant

[1] The theory of the existence of a Prakrit record mentioning two Śālaṅkāyana princes named Vijaya-Nandivarman and Vijaya-Buddhavarman in Elliot's collection is also accepted in *An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1926-27, pp. 74-75, and in such a recent work as Prof. Louis de La Valée Poussin's *Dynasties et Histoire de l' Inde* (Histoire du Monde, VI 2, Paris, 1935), p. 233.

of Vijayabuddhavarmā," he says there, "of which I have spoken at Vol. V, p. 175. I now give the text from the original plates which belong to Sir Walter Elliot."

Fleet's reading of the grant is as follows :

L. 1. Siddha Sirivijayakhandavamma-mahārājassa Saṃvvachhara............

L. 2. Yuvamahārājassa Bhāraṭṭāyana Pallavā-

L. 3. ṇaṃ Sirivijayabuddhavarmassa devī.........

L. 4, kujana vīhā (?) rudevī Kaḍā (?) vīya.........

No argument is necessary to prove that the inscription belongs to the Pallavas and refers to the king Skandavarman and the Crown-prince Buddhavarman, and that it has nothing to do with the Śālaṅkāyanas. Fleet was himself conscious of what he said before, and remarked (*ibid.*, p. 101) : "And Vijayabuddhavarmā is said to be a Pallava, and of the Bhāraṭṭāyana *gotra*. There is therefore, no genealogical connection between the Vijayabuddha-varmā of this grant and the Vijayanandivarmā of the Veṅgī grant at Vol. V, p. 175, who was of the Śālaṅkāyana *gotra*." Fleet, however, could not translate the inscription, as it is written in Prakrit. It has later been carefully edited by Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII (p. 143 ff., "British Museum Plates of Chārudēvī" with "Plates of Vijaya-Skandavarman and Vijaya-Buddhavarman"). The first plate has been thus deciphered and translated by Hultzsch :

Siddha//

L. 1. Siri-Vijaya-Khandava[m]ma-mahārājassa saṃ-vvachchhar[ā]......[/*]

L. 2. Yuvamahārājassa Bhāraddāyassa Pallavā-

L. 3. ṇaṃ Si[ri]-vijaya-Buddhavarmassa dēvī [Bu.] ddhi......

L. 4. kura-janavī Chārudēvī ka[ḍake] vīya......[/*]

"Success! The years (*of the reign*) of the glorious Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman. Chārudēvī, the queen of the *Yuvamahārāja*, the Bhāradvāja, the glorious Vijaya-Buddhavarman (*of the family*) of the Pallavas (*and*) mother of [Buddhyaṅ]kura, (*addresses the following order*) [to the official at] Ka[ṭaka]."

There can, then, be no question of a Buddhavarman in the genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyanas.

The following kings are so far known from inscriptions to have belonged to the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty :—

1.	Ellore Prakrit grant	(*i*) Devavarman.
2.	Kollair grant	(*i*) Caṇḍavarman ;
		(*ii*) Nandivarman, the eldest son of Caṇḍavarman.
3.	Peddavegi grant	(*i*) Hastivarman ;
		(*ii*) Nandivarman I, son of Hastivarman ;
		(*iii*) Caṇḍavarman, son of Nandivarman I ;
		(*iv*) Nandivarman II, eldest son of Caṇḍavarman.
4.	Kanteru grant (No. 1)	(*i*) Skandavarman.
5.	Kanteru grant (No. 2)	(*i*) Nandivarman.

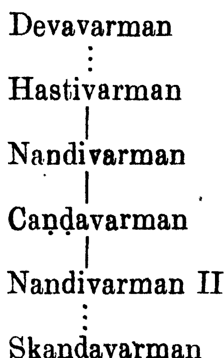
There can be no doubt that Nandivarman of the Kollair grant is identical with Nandivarman II of the Peddavegi grant, since both of them are described in the inscriptions as "the eldest son of Caṇḍavarman." It is however not quite clear whether Nandivarman of the Kanṭeru grant (No. 2) is identical with either of the two Nandivarmans of the Peddavegi plates or he is a third king different from them. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to identify him with Nandivarman II of the Peddavegi grant. Both in the Kollair and the Peddavegi grants Nandivarman II is called

bhagavac-citrarathasvāmi-pād-ānudhyāto bappa-bhaṭṭaraka-pāda-bhaktaḥ parama-bhāgavataś=śālaṅkāyana. It is interesting to note that exactly the same epithets have been applied to Nandivarman also in the plates discovered at Kanteru. It must moreover be noted that the king has the epithet *parama-bhāgavata* in all these three inscriptions and that no other Śālaṅkāyana king is as yet known to have used this epithet. It appears, then, almost certain that Nandivarman of the Kanteru plates is also, like the king of the same name of the Kollair grant, identical with Nandivarman II of the Peddavegi plates. There is unfortunately nothing from which we can determine the precise relationship that existed between Devavarman or Skandavarman on the one hand and the line of the remaining four kings on the other.

As the Ellore grant is written in Prakrit, there can hardly be any doubt that king Devavarman ruled before Skandavarman and Nandivarman II who used Sanskrit in their inscriptions. The character of the Peddavegi plates of Nandivarman II appear to be slightly more developed than that used in the Ellore plates of Devavarman. Devavarman, therefore, may be placed before Hastivarman who appears to have been succeeded regularly by his son, grandson and great-grandson. Considering the facts that the inscriptions of Nandivarman II are to be palaeographically assigned to about the middle of the 5th century A.D., and that he was preceded by three kings of his line, it seems probable that Skandavarman of the Kanteru grant came after Nandivarman II. We however do not know whether Devavarman was the immediate predecessor of Hastivarman[1] or Skandavarman the immediate successor

[1] Devavarman seems to have ruled about 320-45 A.D. (see *below*). He therefore may have been the immediate predecessor (father?) of Hastivarman. See my paper in *Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 498-502.

of Nandivarman II.[1] The genealogical tree then stands thus:



It may be noticed here that this Śālaṅkāyana Hastivarman of the Peddavegi plates can hardly be any other than the *vaiṅgeyaka-Hastivarman*, mentioned in the famous Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta.[2] The main arguments in favour of this assertion are the following:

(*i*) The Śālaṅkāyana line is the only dynasty which can be properly called *vaiṅgeyaka* (belonging to Veṅgī), as all the grants of the Śālaṅkāyana kings are issued from Veṅgīpura. No other early dynasty is known to have had its headquarters at the city of Veṅgī.[3]

1 Some scholars have suggested that Skandavarman might have been the younger brother of Nandivarman II (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, V, p. 27f. The conspicuous mention in Nandivarman II's inscriptions of his being the eldest son of Mahārāja Caṇḍavarman may suggest that the king had a rival in one of his younger brothers. We however do not as yet definitely know whether this younger brother could be Skandavarman of the Kanteru grant No. 1.

2 *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, No. 1; see however *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, I. p. 93. Even recent works on Indian history regard *Vaiṅgeyaka* Hastivarman of the Allahabad pillar inscription as a Pallava king or a Pallava viceroy of the king of Kāñcī. See, as for instance, Sewell's *List* (1932), p. 375.

3 It may be noted that a Sanskrit grant belonging to the Pallava Dharma-Mahārāja Siṃhavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, V. p. 154) refers to Veṅgorāṣṭra. Siṁhavarman is there said to have granted a village in the Veṅgorāṣṭra. The grant was issued

(*ii*) The Sālaṅkāyanas ruled according to Dubreuil, "between 350 and 450 A.D." (*op. cit.*, p. 87); and Burnell thought that the Kollair grant of Nandivarman may be palaeographically assigned to the 4th century A.D. (South Indian Palaeography, p. 14, n. 2). It is therefore generally accepted that the Sālaṅkāyanas ruled contemporaneously with the early Guptas (320-467 A.D.).

As regards the date proposed by Dubreuil, it may be said that the Sālaṅkāyanas certainly began to rule long before 350 A.D. Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri (*Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 3rd ed., p. 341, n. 1) has rightly identified the Sālaṅkāyanas with the Salakênoi mentioned in the Geography of Ptolemy (about 140 A.D.). Ptolemy says: "Beyond the Maisôloi (*cf.* Masulipatam) are the Salakênoi near the Arouaia mountains, with the following cities: Bênagouron

from Daśanapura, which had been identified by Venkayya with modern Darsi in the Nellore district (*Ind. Ant.*, 1908, p. 283). "None of these places Tambrāpa, Palakkaḍa, Daśanapura or Menmātura (from where some Sanskrit charters of the Pallavas were issued) has been identified definitely, although a suggestion has been made by the late Mr. Venkayya that they are to be looked for in the vicinity of the region comprised by the modern Nellore district" (R. Gopalan, *Pallavas of Kanchi*, p. 55). Prof. Dubreuil also places the Daśanapura region in the Nellore and Guntur districts (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 69). The Veṅgī country, we know, lay "between the Krishna and the Godavari." If this Veṅgorāṣṭra refers to the country of Veṅgī, it may be assumed that, at the time of Siṃhavarman Pallava, the southern fringe of this country was under the possession of the Pallavas. There is however, as yet no evidence to prove that the capital city of Veṅgī was ever occupied by the Pallavas. We must also note that even the grandfather of this Siṃhavarman used Sanskrit in his inscription (*cf.* Omgodu plates of Skandavarman II: *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 246 ff.). It is generally accepted that Sanskrit was introduced in Southern inscriptions in the 4th century A.D. Siṃhavarman therefore came some time after the reign of Samudragupta. See *infra*

It may however be conjectured that with the extension of the Veṅgī kingdom under the Sālaṅkāyanas, the name *Veṅgī* also extended over Andhradeśa, as far south as Karmarāṣṭra (northern part of Nellore and southern part of Guntur). Veṅgorāṣṭra in the possession of the Pallavas is, then, to be conjectured to have been originally the southernmost part of the Sālaṅkāyana kingdom. There is however no evidence to prove that the Pallavas were in possession of the city of Veṅgī.

140° 24°; Kastra 138° 19° 30′; Magaris 137° 30′ 18° 20′" (*Geography*, VII, i, § 79). Bênagouron, the premier city of the Salakênoi, appears to me to be a mistake for Bêngaouron (Beṅgapura) which is no other than the well-known Veṅgīpura (*cf.* *Veṅgorāṣṭra* of the Mangalur grant).

As regards the conjecture of Burnell, I may simply point out that, if we compare the characters of the Kollair plates (*Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 175 and Pls.) with those of the inscriptions of the early Eastern Calukyas[1] and of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins,[2] it becomes impossible for us to accept such an early date for the Kollair grant. I have no hesitation in asserting that palaeography has nothing to say against the ascription of the inscriptions of Nandivarman II to the middle of the 5th century A.D. It is then quite possible that his great-grandfather Hastivarman ruled about a century earlier and was a contemporary of Samudragupta (*circa* 330 to 375 A.D.).

(*iii*) Lastly, excepting this Śālaṅkāyana Hastivarman we do not know of any other king, who ruled at Veṅgī, whose name was Hastivarman and who can any how be placed in the middle of the 4th century A.D. which is the time of Samudragupta.

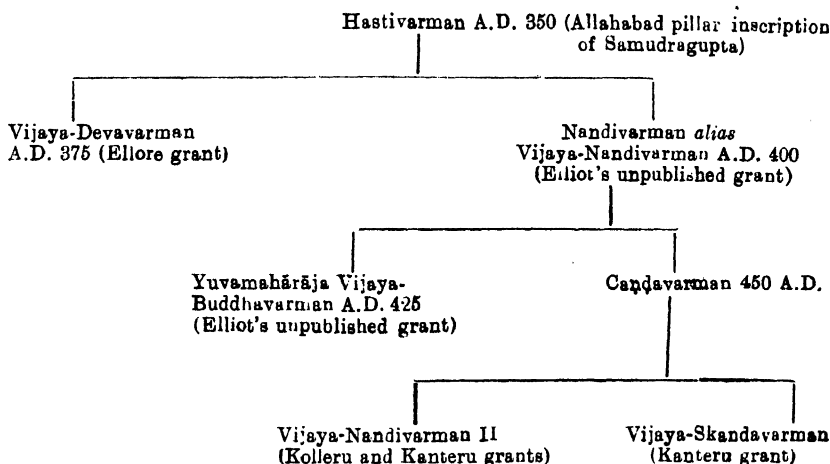
Accepting the contemporaneity of Samudragupta and Śālaṅkāyana Hastivarman (c. 350 A.D.), we may draw the following approximate chronological chart of the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārājas.

[1] See, *e.g.*, the Polamuru plates of Jayasiṃha I (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, IV, p. 72, Pls.); and the Satara plates of Viṣṇuvardhana I (*Ind. Ant.*, XIX, pp. 310-11).

[2] See, *e.g.*, the Polamaru plates of Mādhavavarman (I) who cannot be much earlier than Jayasiṃha I (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VI, p. 17, Pls.).

Devavarman	...	...	c. 320-345 A.D. ?
⋮			
Hastivarman	...	...	c. 345-370 A.D.
|			
Nandivarman I	...	...	c. 370-395 A.D.
|			
Caṇḍavarman	...	...	c. 395-420 A.D.
|			
Nandivarman II	...	...	c. 420-445 A.D.
⋮			
Skandavarman	...	...	c. 445-470 A.D. ?[1]

[1] *An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1926-27, p. 74 notices the following tree of Śālaṅkāyana genealogy proposed by M. Somasekhara Sarma.



We have tried to prove above the following points : (1) Devavarman probably ruled earlier than Hastivarman and therefore may not have been the latter's son; (2) there was no Śālaṅkāyana inscription in Elliot's collection and there was no prince named Buddhavarman in the Śālaṅkāyana family; (3) the relation between Skandavarman and Caṇḍavarman is not definitely known.

II

CANDAVARMAN, LORD OF KALINGA[1]

In his latest work, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* (1932), p. 18, s.v. A.D. 340, the late Mr. Sewell has thus remarked on the Komarti grant: "About the fourth century A.D. A set of plates from Komarti in Ganjam, dated in the sixth regnal year of the Śālaṅkāyana chief Chaṇḍavarman." The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal in his work, *History of India* (1933), even goes so far as to suggest that the Śālaṅkāyanas ruled not only in Kaliṅga but belonged originally also to Magadha (pp. 127-28). Sewell and Jayaswal here evidently follow the views of Hultzsch who, while editing the Komarti plates in *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 142 ff., was inclined to identify king Caṇḍavarman mentioned in this inscription with the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Caṇḍavarman, father of Nandivarman II. Kielhorn, who entered the Kolleru inscription of Nandivarman II Śālaṅkāyana in his List of Inscriptions of *Northern India* (*Ep. Ind.*, V, App., No. 686) was obviously of the same opinion.[2] Prof. Dubreuil remains silent about the suggestion of Hultzsch, when he discusses the Komarti grant (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 94), though he does not take up the suggestion of Hultzsch. We may not accept the identification, but such great authorities in South Indian epigraphy as Hultzsch and Kielhorn cannot be passed over in silence. Moreover, a discussion on this

[1] My note on Caṇḍavarman of the Komarti Plates was originally published in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, X, p. 780 ff.

[2] Following Kielhorn, D. R. Bhandarkar has also entered the Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions in his List of Inscriptions of *Northern India* (*Ep. Ind.*, XX-XXIII, App., Nos. 2087-91).

point has now become indispensable after some scholars have accepted the old suggestion made by Hultzsch and supported by Kielhorn.

Regarding the Komarti plates, Hultzsch says that "a connection may be established with the plates (*i.e*, the Kollair plates) of the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Vijayanandivarman, who (1) like Chaṇḍavarman, professes to have been devoted to the feet of the lord, (his) father (*bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhakta*), and who (2) was the eldest son of Mahārāja Chaṇḍavarman. The close resemblance between the alphabets of the plates of Vijayanandivarman and of the Komarti plates suggests that Chaṇḍavarman, the father of Vijayanandivarman, may have been identical with the Mahārāja Chaṇḍavarman who issued the Komarti plates."

I agree with Hultzsch that the characters of the Komarti plates resemble closely those of the plates of Nandivarman II Śālaṅkāyana, and that, therefore, "the two Chaṇḍavarmans must have belonged to the same period." But it is difficult to go beyond that. There are some serious points against the identification of the issuer of the Komarti plates with the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Caṇḍavarman.

The Komarti plates were found near Narasannapeta in the Ganjam district. The grant was issued from *vijaya-*Siṃhapura which has been identified with modern Siṅgupuram between Chicaclole and Narasannapeta.[1] On the other hand, all the known Śālaṅkāyana grants were issued from Veṅgīpura which has been identified with Peddavegi near Ellore in the Godavari district and

1 The name of Siṃhapura, the capital of the dynasty to which Caṇḍavarman belonged, and the names ending in *-varman* appear to support a conjecture that these Varmans of Kaliṅga originally came from the Siṃhapura-rājya (Yuan Chwang's "kingdom of *Sang-ho-pu-lo*;" Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, I, pp. 143-4) in the Punjab. The Lakkhamandal inscription of about the "end of the 7th century" refers to twelve princes of Siṃhapura, whose names end in *-varman* (*Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 12 ff.). This Siṃhapura in the Punjab seems to have been mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, II, 26, 20, in connection with Arjuna's victories in the Northern countries.

which appears to have been the chief city of the Śālaṅkāyanas as early as the time of Ptolemy.

It must be noted that Caṇḍavarman of the Komarti grant calls himself Kaliṅgādhipati (lord of Kaliṅga); but no Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja so far known claims mastery over the Kaliṅga country. The issuers of all the Śālaṅkāyana grants invariably call themselves *Śālaṅkāyana* and also *Bhagavac-citrarathasvāmi-pād-ānudhyāta*, *i.e.*, favoured[1] by the feet of lord Citrarathasvāmin who must have been the family deity of the Śālaṅkāyanas. It must also be noticed that both these distinctive epithets are conspicuous by their absence in the Komarti grant.

Besides, the phraseology of the Komarti grant seems to be different from that of the known Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions. Two points at least deserve notice in this connection. First, the king of the Komarti grant calls himself *Śrī-mahārājā(ja)-Caṇḍavarmā*, while all the issuers of the Śālaṅkāyana grants invariably call themselves *Mahārāja-śrī*-so-and-so. Secondly, the phrase *ā-sahasrāṃśu-śaśi-tārakā-pratiṣṭha* used as an adjective of *agrahāra*, and the idea conveyed by it, are unknown to the phraseology of the known Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions which, we should note, are marked by a striking similarity of language among themselves.

Such being the case, we must take the issuer of the Komarti plates as belonging to a separate dynasty, until further evidence is forthcoming.[2] It seems probable that the dynasty to which Caṇḍavarman of the Komarti grant belongs ruled over the Kaliṅga country (or the major part of it) with its capital at Siṃhapura, when the Śālaṅkāyanas

[1] For this new interpretation of the word *anudhyāta*, see *infra*.

[2] Prof. Dubreuil has rightly separated the two dynasties in his *Anc. Hist. Dec.*, pp. 89 and 95. Another record issued from *vijaya*-Siṅghapura in the fourth year of evidently the same *Kaliṅg-ādhipati* Caṇḍavarman has been recently discovered (Arch. Surv. Ind., A.R., 1934-35, p. 64).

ruled over the country to the west of the Kaliṅga region with their capital at Veṅgīpura. The country of the Śālaṅkāyanas was the heart of what is called Andhradeśa in Sanskrit literature. In the inscriptions of the Eastern Calukyas, it has been designated Veṅgīmaṇḍala, Veṅgīrāṣṭra, Veṅgīmahī and the like. Probably the country was called "the Veṅgī kingdom" even in the Śālaṅkāyana period.

Another king of the dynasty of Siṃhapura seems to have been the issuer of the Brihatprostha grant (issued from *vijaya*-Sīhapura, *i.e.*, Siṃhapura), edited by Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 4 ff. The name of the king who issued this grant has been taken to be Umavarman. According to Hultzsch, "both the alphabet and the phraseology of the grant closely resemble those of the Komarti plates of Mahārāja Chaṇḍavarman. This king may have belonged to the same family as the Mahārāj-omavarman......For both kings issued their edicts from Siṃhapura (or Sīhapura) andbore the epithets 'lord of Kaliṅga' and 'devoted to the feet of (his) father.'" [1]

The characters of the Komarti grant closely resemble those of another inscription, the Chicacole grant of Nanda-[2] Prabhañjanavarman. The two phraseological peculiarities

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 4. Hultzsch is not quite accurate in the last point. Caṇḍavarman is called *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda bhakta*, while Umavarman is called *Bappa-pāda-bhakta* in the inscription. The Tekkali record issued from *vijaya*-Vardhamānapura seems to be dated in the ninth year of this king Umavarman (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VI, p. 53 f.). I do not think that the Tekkali grant belongs to a different king. A third record of Umavarman is the Dhavalapeta grant issued from Sunagara (*ibid.*, pp. X, 143-44).

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 48 f. The name so long taken by scholars as Nandaprabhañjanavarman probably signifies Prabhañjanavarman of the Nanda family. For a reference to the Nanda or Nandodbhava dynasty in the Kaliṅga region, see the Talmul plates of the Nanda Vilāsatuṅga-Dhruvānanda of the year 293 (*J. B. O. R. S.*, XIV, p. 90 ff.) The date if referred to the Harṣa era would correspond to A. D. 899 These Nandas or Nandodbhavas appear to have claimed descent from the mighty Nandaswho ruled at Pāṭaliputra before the Mauryas. It may be interesting in this connection to note that a certain Nandarāja is referred to in the famous Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga (*Ep. Ind*, XX, p. 79 f., lines 6 and 12). If the king may be identified with Prabhañjanavarman, "the moon of the Vasiṣṭhafamily," we are to believe that he was connected with the Vasiṣṭhas on his mother's side.

of the Komarti grant noticed above are present in the Chicacole grant. We may therefore agree with Hultzsch when he says, "The phraseology of the grant resembles that of the copper-plate grants of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga, but still much more closely with that of the Chicacole plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman. Another point in which the last mentioned plates agree with the Komarti plates is that in both of them the title *Kaliṅgādhipati*, *i.e.*, 'lord (of the country) of Kaliṅga' is applied to the reigning prince. There remains a third point which proves that Chaṇḍavarman and Nandaprabhañjanavarman must have belonged to the same dynasty. An examination of the original seal of the Chicacole plates, which Mr. Thurston, Superintendent of the Madras Museum, kindly sent me at my request, revealed the fact that the legend on the seal is *Pi*[*tṛi-bhakta*], just as on the seal of the Komarti plates." [1] The Chicacole grant was, however, not issued from Siṃhapura or Sīhapura, but from *vijaya*-Sārapallikā-vāsaka, "the residence or palace (or camp?) at the victorious Sārapallikā." It is not clear whether Sārapallikā was the capital of the Kaliṅgādhipati Nanda-Prabhañjanavarman; but the explicit mention of the term *vāsaka* (residence, dwelling) probably suggests that it was not the permanent capital of his family.[2]

The Koroshandra plates (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 23 ff.) of the same age record the grant of a village called Taṃpoyaka in Korāsoḍaka-Pañcālī by a Mahārāja named Viśākhavarman. It is known from the Chicacole grant of Indravarman (*Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 122 ff.) that this Korāsoḍaka-Pañcālī formed a part of the Kaliṅga country. G. Ramadas therefore thinks that Viśākhavarman was a Kaliṅgādhipati like Caṇḍavarman and Umavarman (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 24).

1 *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 143.

2 The term *vāsaka* and the similar term *skandhāvāra* sometimes appear to mean "the temporary residence (therefore, the temporary capital) of a king." See *supra*.

The grant however was issued from Śrīpura which has been identified with Siripuram in the Vizagapatam district.

On palaeographic grounds, these kings should be assigned to about the time of Nandivarman II Śālaṅkāyana, *i.e.*, about the 5th century A.D.[1] It is, therefore, impossible to agree with the late Prof. R. D. Banerji when he writes,[2] "We do not know anything of the history of Kaliṅga and Orissa after the fall of the dynasty of Khāravela (2nd century B.C according to the Professor) till the rise of the Śailodbhavas in the 7th century A.D."

It is difficult to determine whether this line of the kings of Kaliṅga was ruling at the time of the southern expedition of Samudragupta (*c.* 350 A.D.). It is, however, interesting to note that the Allahabad pillar inscription does not refer to any king of Kaliṅga, nor of Siṃhapura, Sārapallikā and Śrīpura. The states mentioned there, that may be conjecturally assigned to the Kaliṅga region, are Kurāla, Koṭṭūra, Piṣṭapura, Eraṇḍapalla, Avamukta and Devarāṣṭra. Of these Piṣṭapura has been definitely identified with Piṭhapuram in the Godavari district. That it was the seat of a Government in the beginning of the 7th century A.D., is proved by the passage *piṣṭaṃ piṣṭapuraṃ yena* in the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II.[3] We have got an inscription of a *Kaliṅg-ādhipati* Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śaktivarman of the Māṭhara family(?) who granted from Piṣṭapura the village of Rākaluva in the Kaliṅga-viṣaya (*Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 1 ff.). Rākaluva has been identified with Rāgolu, the findspot of the copper-plates, near Chicacole in the Ganjam district. The characters of the inscription seem to resemble those of the Veṅgī and Siṃhapura inscriptions, and may, therefore, be assigned

1 Prof. Dubreuil places them a little later, *loc. cit.*

2 *History of Orissa*, I, ch. VIII (Kaliṅga and Orissa in the Scythian and Gupta periods), p. 109.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 4 ff.

to about the 5th century A.D. But the phraseology is remarkably different from that of the inscriptions of the Siṃhapura line. It therefore may be conjectured that Śaktivarman belonged to a separate line or branch line, that of Piṣṭapura, which was probably supplanted by the Calukyas in the beginning of the 7th century A.D. The epithet *kaliṅgādhipati* seems to suggest that the claim of *kaliṅgādhipatitva* of one of the two rival lines of Piṣṭapura and Siṃhapura was, at one time, challenged by the other.[1]

Another grant (Arch. Surv. Ind., A. R., 1934-35, pp. 64-65) mentions a Kaliṅgādhipati named Anantavarman whose *adhiṣṭhāna* (capital) was Piṣṭapura and who was the son of Prabhañjanavarman, "the moon of the Vasiṣṭha family," and the grandson of Guṇavarman, lord of Devarāṣṭra (mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription and in the Kasimkota grant of Cālukya-Bhīma I and identified with the Yellamanchili area of the Vizagapatam district).[2]

The names of the other states mentioned above cannot be satisfactorily identified. It does not appear quite unreasonable to think that after the downfall of the Ceta dynasty to which the great Khāravela belonged, Kaliṅga became split up into a number of petty principalities and that the same state continued as late as the time of Samudragupta's invasion. The history of Kaliṅga about the 5th century A.D. was possibly marked by the rivalry between the royal houses of Piṣṭapura and Siṃhapura for the supreme authority over Kaliṅga. The line of

[1] A recently discovered grant is known to have been issued from *vijaya-*Siṅghapura in the 28th year of a lord of Kaliṅga named Anantaśaktivarman, who belonged to the Māṭhara family (Arch. Surv. Ind., A.R., 1934-35, p. 65). He was possibly identical with Śaktivarman or was one of the latter's immediate successors. *Deśākṣapaṭalādhikṛta, talavara* Arjunadatta of this grant may be the same as *Amātya* Arjunadatta of the grant of Śaktivarman.

[2] Besides these "lords of Kaliṅga" there is reference in the Sarabhavaram plates (*Ep. Ind.*, XIII. p. 304), to an unnamed "lord of Cikura." This "lord of Cikura," according to Prof. Dubreuil, was "probably not a king of Kaliṅga but only a simple feudatory" (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 94).

Siṃhapura was possibly overthrown by the Gaṅgas about the of the 6th century A.D.[1]

In conclusion let me refer summarily to the four grants of the kings of Śarabhapura (Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 1878-1881). These grants are assigned to the 8th century A.D., but may be a little earlier. The above four inscriptions, all issued from Śarabhapura, have been found in C. P.; but, according to Sten Konow (*Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 108), Śarabhapura may probably be identical with the modern village of Śarabhavaram, in the Choḍavaram division, ten miles east from the bank of the Godavari and twenty miles from Rajahmundry. L. P. Pandeya has described (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 595) a coin belonging to the Śarabhapura kings whom he takes to be feudatories of the Pāṇḍava kings of Kosala. If the identification of Sten Konow is correct we have another royal family in the Kaliṅga country, the earlier members of which family may have ruled about the end of the 6th century.

[1] Curiously enough we find a line of kings, with names ending in *-varman* ruling over parts of Eastern and Southern Bengal in about the tenth and eleventh centuries A D. The ancestors of these "Varmans"—as they style themselves in their inscriptions—are said to have once occupied Siṃhapura. *Cf. varmmāno='tigabhīra-nāma dadhataḥ ślāghyau bhujau bibhrato bhejuḥ siṃhapuraṃ guhām=iva mṛgendrāṇāṃ harer=bāndhavāḥ* : Belava grant of Bhojavarman (*Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 37), son of Sāmalavarman, grandson of Jātavarman and great-grandson of Vajravarman. The Bengal Varmans, like the Varmans of the Lakkhamandal inscription, trace their descent from Yadu. Evidently they claim connection with the Yādavas (*cf. harer=bāndhavāḥ* in the passage quoted above). It is possible that a second branch of the Punjab Varmans migrated into Bengal. It may also be conjectured that the Varmans of Kaliṅga when they were displaced from Siṃhapura (by the Eastern Gaṅgas ?), marched towards the east and carved out a principality somewhere in South or South-East Bengal. They appear to have supplanted the Candra dynasty of Eastern Bengal possibly after it was shaken by the defeat of "Govindacandra of Vaṃgāladeśa," inflicted by that Indian Napoleon, Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Rājendra Cola I, in about 1023 A. D.

III

THE TERM *Sālaṅkāyana* AND THE RELIGION OF THE ŚĀLAṄKĀYANAS.

The word *Śālaṅkāyana*, according to the Sanskrit lexicons *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* and *Medinī*, means *Nandin*, the famous attendant or *vāhana* of Śiva. It is interesting to note that the figure of a bull (*i.e.*, Nandin) is found on the seals of the Śālaṅkāyana kings, whose copper-plate grants have so far been discovered (*vide infra*). It is therefore not quite impossible that the Bull crest (and banner ?) of the Śālaṅkāyana kings was connected with the name of their family.

Fleet, while editing the Kollair plates, suggested that the term *Śālaṅkāyana* signifies the Śālaṅkāyana-gotra. Though the Śālaṅkāyana kings are never called Śālaṅkāyana-sagotra according to the fashion in which gotras are referred to in early South Indian inscriptions, the theory of Fleet cannot be dismissed as impossible. There are, however, more than one gotra of the name of Śālaṅkāyana, and it is not possible to find out to which one of these gotras our kings belonged. There is one gotra called Sālaṅkāyana which belongs to the Viśvāmitra section and has the *pravaras* Vaiśvāmitra, Kātya and Ātkīla. But the word *Sālaṃkāyana* used in the Ellore grant of Devavarman seems to be the Prakrit form of Śālaṅkāyana which is the spelling used in all the other grants of the family. There are however four *gotrarṣis* named Śālaṅkāyana. The first of them belongs to the Bhṛgu section and has the *pravaras* Bhārgava, Vaitahavya and Sāvedasa. The second belongs to the Bharadvāja section and has the *pravaras*

Āṅgirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Sainya and Gārgya. The third belongs to the Viśvāmitra section and has the *pravaras* Vaiśvāmitra, Daivarāta and Audala; the fourth also belongs to the Viśvāmitra section, but has the *pravaras* Vaiśvāmitra, Śālaṅkāyana and Kauśika (see P. C. Rao, *Gotra-nibandha-kadambam*, Mysore).

We know very little of the early history of the Śālaṅkāyanas. It has been supposed (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, V, p. 23) that the terms Śālaṅkāyana and Śālaṅkāyanaka (country of the Śālaṅkāyanas) are mentioned in the Gaṇapāṭha of Pāṇini. It is however certain that the Śālaṅkāyanas (Greek : Salakênoi) ruled over the Veṅgī region as early as the time of Ptolemy (*c.* 140 A.D.).

We have already said above that the seals of the Śālaṅkāyana kings bear the figure of a bull which is probably to be identified with Nandin. This fact and names like Nandivarman (one whose protector is Nandin) and Skandavarman (one whose protector is Skanda, son of Śiva) in the family possibly show that the family religion of the Śālaṅkāyanas was Śaivism. It must also be noticed that all the Śālaṅkāyana kings, in their inscriptions, call themselves *Bhagavac-citrarathasvāmi-pād-ānudhyāta, i.e.*, favoured by the feet of Lord Citrarathasvāmin. Citrarathasvāmin is evidently the name of the family deity of the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārājas of Veṅgī which, as already noticed, has been identified with the village of Peddavegi near Ellore in the Godavari district. In this connection we must notice what Hultzsch said (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 51) : "The correctness of this identification is confirmed by the existence of a mound which on a visit to Pedda-Vegi in 1902 was shown to me by the villagers as the site of the ancient temple of Citrarathasvāmin, the family deity of the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārājas."

The word *Citraratha* according to Sanskrit lexicons means the Sun. K. V. Lakshmana Rao therefore suggest-

ed that Citrarathasvāmin mentioned in the Sālaṅkāyana inscriptions was the Sun-god. It however appears to me that, as the family religion of the Sālaṅkāyanas was in all probability Śaivism, Citrarathasvāmin might possibly be a form of Lord Śiva.

It must be noticed here that while in the inscriptions king Devavarman has been called *parama-māhessara*, king Nandivarman II is called *parama-bhāgavata*. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, who believes that the religion of the Sālaṅkāyanas was Śaivism, says (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, V, p. 25) : " Because this epithet (*scil. parama-māheśvara*) was changed into that of *parama-bhāgavata* by the successors of this king (*scil.* Devavarman), we need not infer that the later Sālaṅkāyanas changed their Śaiva faith and became Vaiṣṇavas. *Bhāgavata* did not necessarily mean in those days a worshipper of Viṣṇu, and the followers of Śiva also were called Bhāgavatas. We have the authority of the venerable Patañjali (on Pāṇini V. 2. 1) for the usage of the word *Śiva-Bhāgavata*."

It is difficult to agree with Lakshmana Rao. In all the three inscriptions of Nandivarman II, the king is unanimously called *parama-bhāgavata*, which in its general sense suggests that the king was a devotee of Bhagavān Viṣṇu. It must be noticed that no other Sālaṅkāyana king is as yet known to have used this epithet. Moreover, we know from the Peddavegi plates that Nandivarman II granted no less than 32 *nivartanas* of land (95·2 acres according to Kauṭilya whose *nivartana* = 2·975 acres; but 23·4 acres according to a Commentator whose *nivartana* = ·743 acre ; see *infra*) in order to make a *devahala* for the god Viṣṇugṛha-svāmin, the lord of the three worlds. This *devahala* was cultivated by the local *vrajapālakas* and the produce was evidently received by the authorities of the Viṣṇu-gṛha (temple of Viṣṇu). The word *devahala* appears to mean " ploughable lands, dedicated

for the enjoyment of a god." *Cf. vraja-pālakānāṃ kraṣṭuṁ devahalaṅ=k[illegible]a*; see below, pp. 94-95. This Viṣṇu-gṛha-svāmin (literally, lord of the temple of Viṣṇu) was evidently a form (*vigraha*) of Lord Viṣṇu. Dedication of lands in honour of Vi ugṛha-svāmin and the epithet *parama-bhāgavata* togethe leave hardly any doubt that the Sālaṅkāyana king Nandivman II was a Vaiṣṇava.

IV

DEVAVAMMA (=DEVAVARMAN)

In the Ellore grant, the Śālaṅkāyana kg Devavarman has been called a devotee of Maheśvara. H's also credited with the performance of an *aśvamedha* sacrif (*assamedha-yājī*). He therefore seems to have been arince of considerable importance. The performance ofhe Aśvamedha by Devavarman Śālaṅkāyana seems to spe of his success against the Pallavas who are known tc ve obtained possession of Andhrāpatha with its he quarters at Dhaṃñakaḍa.

In this connection it is necessary to discu the view of K. V. Lakshmana Rao (*Journ. Andhra Hi Res. Soc.*, V, p. 24), who thus remarked on the epithet *amedha-yājī* (performer of the horse-sacrifice) applied tālaṅkāyana Devavarman in the Ellore Prakrit plates : "i of opinion that the boast of Aśvamedha (horse-sacrifice) sted with the Imperial Guptas, and the contagion sprea the minor dynasties like the Chedis (?Traikūṭakas), the V.ṭakas, the Kadambas, the Śālaṅkāyanas and others. The ximity in the time of Vijaya Devavarman to Samudra Gu's South Indian triumphal march, in my opinion explains insertion of the word *assamedha-yājinā* (l.5) in the grof Vijaya Deva. He must have seen some of the Imperial nts with similar titles and coolly imitated them." My. try, however, is exactly opposite to what has been prounded by Lakshmana Rao.

The first point to notice here is that there reference to any titles like *aśvamedha-yājī* in the Guptacords. If, however, we take that the epithet of Devavarn is an

imitation of *cir-otsann-āśvamedh-āhartā* found in the Gupta inscriptions, we are to think that the Śālaṅkāyana king lived to see the records of Samudragupta's successors, because we do not get the epithet in his own inscriptions.

But we have already shown that this Śālaṅkāyana Devavarman is probably earlier than Samudragupta's contemporary Hastivarman of Veṅgī and, therefore, ruled before the Gupta emperor's southern expedition. As king Devavarman appears to have ruled in the first half of the 4th century A.D.,[1] it may be that the idea of performing the horse-sacrifice was borrowed not by the Śālaṅkāyanas from the Guptas, but by the Guptas from the Śālaṅkāyanas.

Whatever the value of this suggestion may be, I have no doubt that Samudragupta got the inspiration of performing the *aśvamedha* from his connection with Southern India which may rightly be called the land of Vedic customs. Even at the present time, South India represents Vedic rituals more truly and fanatically than Northern India. So we may think it was also in ancient times. In comparison with the number and variety of Vedic sacrifies performed by early South Indian rulers, like the Sātavāhana king[2] referred to in the Nanaghat inscription No. 1 (*Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, V, p. 60 ff.), the Ikṣvāku king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāṃtamūla I, the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena I and the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman,[3] the one *aśvamedha*

[1] He cannot be earlier than A.D. 300. Unlike the Sātavāhana and Ikṣvāku inscriptions, and like works in literary Prakrit, his grant in almost all cases expresses compound consonants by more than one letter and contains the usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit. On linguistic grounds his reign is to be placed a little later than the accession of Śivaskandavarman (c. 300 A.D.), *i.e.*, about 320-345. See my note in *Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 498-502, and *below*.

[2] This Sātavāhana king who has been taken to be the same as Śātakarṇi, husband of Nāganikā, must have ruled before the Christian era.

[3] Like all early Prakrit inscriptions, the Ikṣvāku records generally express compound consonants by single letters. This fact seems to show that the Ikṣvāku kings are earlier than the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman whose grants in most cases express compound consonants by more than one letter and have passages in them written in Sanskrit, and the legend on whose seal is also written in Sanskrit. As the Ikṣvākus seem to have

performed by Gājāyana-Sarvatāta (*c.* 250 B.C. ; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 795), the two by Puṣyamitra (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 57) and the two [1] performed by the Gupta kings Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I, are ridiculously insignificant. So, the South might well have been teacher of the North in this respect.

By the bye it may be said that the view of Lakshmana Rao with reference to the *aśvamedha* of the Vākāṭakas is also untenable. The Vākāṭakas do not appear to have been inspired by the example set by Samudragupta. The Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena I who claims to have performed four *aśvamedhas*, along with *agniṣṭoma, āptoryāma, ukthya, ṣoḍaśī, atirātra, bṛhaspatiśava* and *sādyaskra* (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 97), appears to be earlier than Samudragupta. We know that Prabhāvatīguptā, granddaughter of Samudragupta, was given in marriage to the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II, who was grandson's grandson of Pravarasena I. A chronological chart is given for easy reference.

Vākāṭaka	*Gupta*
Pravarasena I	
|	
Gautamīputra	
|	
Rudrasena I	Candragupta I (acc. 320 A.D.)
|	|
Pṛthivīsena I	Samudragupta (*c.* 330-375)
|	|
Rudrasena II married Prabhāvatīguptā	|
	daughter of Candragupta II (*c.* 375-414).

succeeded the Sātavāhanas about the end of the first quarter of the third century, Śivaskandavarman can hardly be placed earlier than A.D. 300; but he seems to have ruled before *Kāñceyaka* Viṣṇugopa who came in conflict with Samudragupta about the middle of the 4th century. See *below*.

[1] Allan, *Catalogue*, pp. 68-69. The official Gupta records do not credit Samudragupta with the performance of *many aśvamedhas*. In the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, however, he is called *anek-āśvamedha-yājī* (performer of many horse-sacrifices). The boast seems to be unfounded. First, if Samudragupta performed more than one *aśvamedha*, his successors would have emphatically mentioned it in their official

It therefore appears that Rudrasena I Vākāṭaka was a contemporary of Samudragupta's father Candragupta I who began to reign in 320 A.D.[1] It is not impossible that the beginning of the reign of Pravarasena I, grandfather of Rudrasena I, fell in the ninth or tenth decade of the 3rd century A.D. So, if any was the borrower, it was the Guptas, and not the Vākāṭakas. Pravarasena I could, however, have got the inspiration from his relatives, the Bhāraśivas, who have been credited with the performance of ten *aśvamedha* sacrifices.[2]

records. The Gupta kings after Samudragupta cannot be called reserved with reference to boasts. As has been noticed by Prof. Raychaudhuri (*Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 3rd ed., p. 314), even the epithet *cir-otsann-āśvamedh-āhartā*, applied by them to Samudragupta, is an exaggeration. Secondly, there appear to be some mistakes in the grants of Prabhāvatī (*J.A.S.B.*, N. S., XX, p 58; *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 41). Here Ghaṭotkaca has been called the *ādi-rāja* (first king) of the Gupta family, while the official Gupta records begin the line from Mahārāja Gupta. The passage *gupt-ādi-rāja-mahārāja-śrī-ghaṭotkaca* (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 41) has, however, been translated by Messrs. Pathak and Dikshit as "Ghaṭotkaca, who had Gupta as the first." That the word *gupt-ādirāja* is an instance of the *Ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa* compound, and not of the *Bahuvrīhi*, is clear from the Riddhapur plates (*J.A.S.B.*, N. S., XX, p. 58), where we have *guptānām = ādirāja*, which only means "the first king of the Guptas." Thirdly, in these inscriptions, Candragupta I has the simple title Mahārāja, while in the records of his successors he is always styled Mahārājādhirāja; even Samudragupta is called Mahārāja in the Riddhapur plates. Fourthly, some attributes such as *sarva-rāj-occettā*, applied to Samudragupta in the Gupta records, are here applied to Candragupta II. These appear to prove that references to the Guptas in the Vākāṭaka records were not very carefully drawn.

Moreover, as has been noticed by Andrzej Gawronski (*Festschrift*, Ernest Windisch, 1914, p. 170) and Divekar (*Ann. Bhand. Or. Res Ins.*, VII pp. 164-65). Samudragupta performed the *aśvamedha* late in life, *i.e.*, after the engraving of the Allahabad pillar inscription which does not make mention of any such sacrifice. It is, therefore, doubtful whether Samudragupta had time to perform *aneka aśvamedha*.

1 "The first year of the Gupta era, which continued in use for several centuries, and in countries widely separated, ran from February 26, A.D. 320, to March 13, 321; of which dates the former may be taken as that of the coronation of Chandragupta I" (Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, 4th ed., p. 296). Recently attempts have been made by several scholars to prove that the Gupta era started in A.D. 200, 272 or B.C. 57. The theories are however not convincing. See *Ind. Cult.*, III, p. 47 ff.

2 *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 96. That this Pravarasena I was earlier than Samudragupta can also be proved from the evidence of the *Purāṇas*. The *Purāṇas* which do not mention any Gupta king by name and which limit Gupta rule within the area—*anugaṃgaṃ prayāgañ = ca sāketa-magadhāṃs = tathā* (*Vāyu*, ch. 99,

The Ellore plates, dated on the 10th day of the dark fortnight of Pauṣa in the 13th year of Devavarman and issued from Veṅgīpura, record the gift of 20 *nivartanas* of land in Eḷura (Ellore in the Godavari district) to the Brāhmaṇa Gaṇaśarman of the Babhura (Babhru) gotra. The Brāhmaṇa was also given a house-site for himself and others for his *addhiya-manusssas* (" men who receive half the crop ;" *addhikā* of the Hirahadagalli grant ; Sanskrit *ārddhika* ; *cf. Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya, I, 166) and *dvārgas* (doorkeepers). He was exempted from all taxes, and protection of the immunities was ordered by the king.

The exact meaning of Muḷuḍa in the passage *eḷure muḷuḍa-pamukhā gāmo bhānitavvo* (villagers of Eḷura headed by Muḷuḍa should be informed) is not clear The same word evidently occurs in some other Sālaṅkāyana inscriptions, where it has been differently read as *mutyada*, *munuḍa*, etc. The word, which seems to be *mutuda* or *mutuḍa* on some plates, possibly means " the head of a village." Fleet's interpretation of *mutyada* (*Ind. Ant.*, V. p. 176) as " ministers and others " (mantrī + ādi) is certainly untenable.

The seal of king Devavarman attached to the Ellore plates is, according to Hultzsch, " all but obliterated ; but a faint trace of some quadruped—perhaps a tiger—can be seen " (*Ep. Ind.*, IX. p. 57). The figure is, in all probability, that of a bull, which is found on the seals of the other two Sālaṅkāyana kings.

verse 383), not only mention Vindhyaśakti and his son Pravīra (doubtless, Pravarasena I), but also refer to the performance of some *vājapeya* (according to one MS. *vājimedha*) sacrifice by the latter. *Cf.*

vindhyaśakti-sutaś = c = āpi Pravīro nāma vīryavān
bhokṣyanti ca samāḥ ṣaṣṭiṃ purīṃ Kāñcanakāñ = ca vai
yakṣyanti vājapeyaiś = ca samāpta-vara-dakṣiṇaiḥ.

Vāyu Pur. (Baṅgabāsī ed.), Ch. 99, 371-72.

For fuller details, see my paper, *Samudragupta's Aśvamedha Sacrifice*, in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII (July, 1934), p. 35 ff.

V

HASTIVARMAN, NANDIVARMAN I AND CAṆḌAVARMAN.

As we have seen, the names of the Śālaṅkāyana kings Hastivarman and Nandivarman I are found only in the Peddavegi plates of Nandivarman II. The name of Caṇḍavarman is found in the Peddavegi and Kollair plates. Since we have no grants issued by any of these three kings, very little is so far known about them.

In the Peddavegi plates Mahārāja Hastivarman is called *aneka-samar-āvāpta-vijaya* (one who attained victory in many battles). It may be noticed here that the Allahabad pillar inscription, which refers to the conflict between Samudragupta and king Hastivarman of Veṅgī, speaks of the different natures of the North Indian and South Indian expeditions of the Gupta monarch. While he is said to have "uprooted" the kings of Āryāvarta, he is said to have followed a policy of "capture and liberation" with regard to the kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha. It is therefore certain that the Gupta emperor was not so lucky as regards his southern expedition, and it may not be impossible that the reference to the victory in *aneka-samara* of the Śālaṅkāyana king includes also his *samara* with Samudragupta.

The epithet *pratāp-opanata-sāmanta* applied to king Caṇḍavarman may suggest that he was not quite a petty chief and that some subordinate rulers acknowledged his suzerainty.

VI

NANDIVARMAN II.

The Śālaṅkāyana king Caṇḍavarman was succeeded on the throne by his eldest son (*sūnur=jyaiṣṭha*) Nandivarman II. As we have seen, this king has been called *parama-bhāgavata* in all his inscriptions. Evidently he was a Vaiṣṇava and gave up the traditional Śaivism of the Śālaṅ-kāyana kings.

Three copper-plate grants of this king have so far been discovered. They were all issued from Veṅgīpura.

I. The Kanteru plates (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, V. p. 21) record a notice of the king to the Mutuda and the villagers of Kuruvāḍa [1] in the Kudrāhāra-viṣaya. It is notified hereby that twelve *nivartanas* of land in the said village were granted, for the increase of the king's *dharma*, *yaśaḥ*, *kula* and *gotra*, to a Brāhmaṇa named Svāmidatta who belonged to the Maudgalya gotra.

The Kudrāhāra-viṣaya, which is possibly the same as Kudūrahāra of the Kondamudi plates of Jayavarman, has been identified, as we have said above, with "the country adjoining the modern town of Masulipatam (Bandar)" (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 85). This region was formerly occupied by the Bṛhatphalāyanas.

The seal attached to the Kanteru plates has, in relief, the figure of a bull in couching position (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, V, p. 21).

II. The Kollair plates (*Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 176), issued on the 8th day of the dark fortnight of Pauṣa in the 7th regnal year, record another notice of the king to the

1 *An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1926-27, p. 73, reads Kurāvāṭa and identifies it with Kūrāḍa in the Gudivāda taluka of the Kistna district.

Mutuda and villagers of Videnūrapallikā-grāma,* situated in the same Kudrāhāra-viṣaya (*Ep. Ind.*, IX. p. 58 n). The village is hereby granted to 157 Brāhmaṇas of different gotras, who were then resident at the *agrahāra* of Kuravaka-Śrīvara. The village was to be treated with immunities from all taxations, and the immunities were to be preserved by the *deśādhipatis, āyuktakas, vallabhas* and *rāja-puruṣas.* This inscription is important as it furnishes us with a sidelight into the Śālaṅkāyana administrative system. From the official designations mentioned with reference to the protection of the *parihāras*, it appears that the Śālaṅkāyana kingdom was divided into several *deśas* (provinces), which were governed by the *deśādhipatis. Āyuktas* are mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta as "restoring the wealth of the various kings, conquered by the strength of his arm" (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. p. 14). An *āyukta* is mentioned as a *viṣayapati* (head of a province or district) in an inscription of Budhagupta (*Ep. Ind.*, XV. p. 138). According to the lexicographer Hemacandra an *āyukta* is the same as the *niyogin, karma-saciva* (*cf. karmasaciva-matisaciva* ; *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 44) and *vyāpṛta*. We know from the Kondamudi plates (*above*, p. 42) that a *vyāpṛta* was in charge of an *āhāra* (district). It therefore seems that the term *āyukta* also signifies ruler of a district. The term *vallabha*, according to Amara, means *adhyakṣa*, which has been explained by the commentator as *gav-ādhyakṣa* (see *Śabda-kalpadruma*, s.v.). *Vallabha* therefore appears to be the same as *go-'dhyakṣa* (superintendent of cows) mentioned in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra.*[1] The *rāja-puruṣas* (royal agents) are also found

1 It must however be noticed in this connection that the Hirahadagalli grant of Pallava Śivaskandavarman (*Ep. Ind.*, I. p. 2 ff.) makes mention of *vallava* and *go-vallava* in the same passage and evidently makes a distinction between the two terms. According to Sanskrit lexicons, *vallava* means *gopa*, a cowherd. But the other word *go-vallava* certainly means a cowherd and appears to be the same as *vallava* and *vallabha* of Sanskrit lexicons. What is then the meaning of the term

mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* (see Samasastry's ed., pp. 59, 75). They appear to be the same as the *pulisas* of the inscriptions of Aśoka (*e.g.*, in Separate Kaliṅga R.E. No. 1).

The *ājñapti* or executor of the grant was the Bhojaka of Mulaku.[1] The term *bhojaka* (lit. enjoyer) has been taken to mean "free-holder." The Bhojokas appear to have been like the Jāgīrdārs of the Muslim period. *Bhoja*, according to the Mahābhārata, means persons who were not entitled to use the title "king" (*Arājā bhoja-śabdaṃ tvaṃ tatra prāpsyasi sānvayaḥ* ; Ādi., 84, 22). According to the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (VII, 32 ; VIII, 6, 12, 14, 16-17), *bhoja* was the title of South Indian kings. The term *bhojaka*, in a degraded sense, may therefore, mean a *jāgīrdār* or a protected chief. In some inscriptions, the Bhojakas are mentioned along with the Rāṣṭrikas (probably the same as the Deśādhipatis), *e.g.*, *raṭhika-bhojaka* in the Hatihgumpha inscription of Khāravela.

III. The Peddavegi plates (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, I. p. 92) issued on the first day of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa in the 10th year of the reign of king Nandivarman II, eldest son of Caṇḍavarman, grandson of Nandivarman I, and great-grandson of Hastivarman, record a notice of the king to the mutuda (or mutuḍa) and the villagers of Prālura-grāma. The king is said to have hereby granted a *deva-hala* to Viṣṇu-gṛha-svāmin, lord of the three worlds. *Deva-hala* is evidently the same as *devabhoga-hala* of the passage *devabhogahala-varjjaṃ*, which is so common in the Pallava grants and has been translated

vallava in the Hirahadagalli grant ? Curiously enough, the word *vallabha* according to the lexicographer Jaṭādhara is a synonym of *aśva-rakṣa*, *i.e.*, keeper of horses. The passage *vallava* (= *vallabha* of Jaṭādhara)-*govallava* of the Hirahadagalli grant there-fore appears to mean "the Keepers of horses and the Keepers of cows." See *below*.

[1] Fleet's translation (*Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 177) of the passage *tatr = ājñapti (r) = mulaku-bhojakaḥ* as "the command confers the enjoyment of the original royal dues there" should now be given up.

by Hultzsch as "with the exception of cultivated lands enjoyed by temples" (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 165). Fleet translated (*Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 157 and note) the same passage as "with the exception of the plough of the possession. of the god," and remarked, "The meaning would seem to be that the grant did not carry with it the right to some cultivated land in the same village which had already been given to the village-god." A similar word is *bhikhu-hala* (*bhikṣu-hala, i.e.*, cultivated land offered to the Buddhist monks) which occurs in the Nasik cave inscription No. 3 and a Karle cave inscription, and has been ably explained by Senart (*Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 66). These technical words signified religious donations along with certain privileges (*parihāras*). The *deva-hala* granted by Nandivarman II was to be cultivated by the *vraja-pālakas* (herdsmen) and comprised 10 *nivartanas* of land at Aṛutoṛa, 10 *nivartanas* at Muṇḍūra-grāma, 6 *nivartanas* at Ceñceruva-grāma and 6 *nivartanas* at Kamburāñceruva. Muṇḍūra and Kaṃburāñceruva have been identified respectively with Muṇḍūru and Kommera in the Ellore taluka of the Kistna district. Ceñceruva is probably the same as Cincināḍa in the Narasapura taluka and Aṛutoṛa may be identified with Allidoḍdhi in the Gudivāda taluka of the same district (*An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1926-27, p. 74).

The *deśādhipatis*, *āyuktakas*, *vallabhas* and *rāja-puruṣas* were ordered to protect the grant. The executor of the grant was the Bhojaka of Mulakūra, possibly the same as that of the Kollair plates. The grant was written by a *rahasyādhikṛta* (Privy Councillor; *cf. mati-saciva* of the Junagaḍh inscription of Rudradāman; *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 44 ff., line 17), whose name was Kāṭikūri.

VII

SKANDAVARMAN.

Only one inscription of king Skandavarman has so far been discovered. It is the Kanteru grant, issued from Veṅgī and dated on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the 1st year of the king's reign. It records a royal notice to the villagers of Kuḍuhāra-Cinnapura.[1] It is hereby declared that the said village was granted to Śivārya of the Maudgalya gotra, a resident of Lekumārigrāma. This grāma has been identified with Lokamuḍi in the Kaikalur taluka of the Kistna district.[2] All the officers including the *āyuktakas* and the *viṣayapatis* were ordered to make it immune from all taxations (*sarva-niyoga-niyukt-āyo(yu)ktaka-viṣayapatimiśraiḥ sā pallikā parihartavyā*). The mention of the *viṣayapati* in this connection possibly shows that the *deśas* or provinces of the Śālaṅkāyana kingdom were further subdivided into *viṣayas* (districts), each of which was under a *viṣayapati*. The *āyuktakas* appear to have ruled the subdivisions (*āhāras* ?) of the *viṣayas*.

We do not definitely know whether Kuḍuhāra is the same as Kudrāhāra and whether Kuḍuhāra-Cinnapura means "Cinnapura in Kuḍuhāra." Cinnapura has been identified with the present village of Cinnapuram in the Bandar taluka (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, V, pp. 25-26).

According to Lakshmana Rao there is the figure of a bull on the seal of Skandavarman, attached to the Kanteru plates.

1 *An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1926-27, p. 73 reads *Cintapura.*

2 *Ibid*, p. 73.

CHAPTER V.

THE VIṢṆUKUṆḌINS.

I

GENEALOGY OF THE VIṢṆUKUṆḌINS.[1]

The history of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins has been touched by scholars like Kielhorn, Hultzsch and many others. The author of the present work holds an altogether different view as regards the genealogy and chronology of the dynasty. The question of genealogy shall be discussed in the present and that of chronology in the next section.

The first known inscription of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins is the Chikkulla plates edited by Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 193 ff. These plates give us the following line of kings :—

1. Mahārāja Mādhavavarman ; his son
2. Vikramendravarman (I) ; his son
3. Mahārāja Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman ; his eldest son
4. Mahārāja Vikramendravarman (II) ; (10th year).

Then come the Ramatirtham plates, edited by Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 133 ff. Here we have the following line :—

1. Mahārāja Mādhavavarman ; his son
2. Rājā Vikramendra ; his son
3. Rājā Indravarman ; (27th year).

There can hardly be any doubt that Rājā Indravarman of the Ramatirtham plates is identical with Mahārāja Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman of the Chikkulla plates.

[1] My paper on the Viṣṇukuṇḍin genealogy was originally published in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 273 ff.

Next we have two sets of copper-plate grants belonging to this dynasty, which were found at a place called Ipur in the Tenali taluka of the Guntur district. They were edited by Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.*, XVII. In the first set of these plates (*ibid*, p. 334), we have the following line :—

1. Mahārāja Govindavarman ; his son
2. Mahārāja Mādhavavarman (37th year) ; his son
3. Mancyaṇṇa-bhaṭṭāraka.

Hultzsch, on grounds of palaeography, identified Mādhavavarman of the first set of the Ipur plates with the king of the same name in the Rāmatirtham and Chikkulla plates. It can be easily shown that later writers, who have disapproved of this identification as unwarranted, are themselves wrong. The epithets applied to the name of this king, as found in the Chikkulla, Ramatirtham and Ipur (set I) plates, clearly establish the identity. Let us here quote the corresponding passages of the three inscriptions.

1. Chikkulla plates :— *Ekādaś-āśvamedh-āvabhṛt(th)-āvadhauta-jagad(t)-kalmaṣasya kratu-sahasra-yājina[ḥ]* sarva-medh-āvāpta-sarvabhūta-svārājyasya bahusuvarṇṇa-pauṇḍa-rīka-puruṣamedha - vājapeya-yu d h y a-ṣ o ḍ a ś i-rājasūya - prā-dhirājya -[prā]jāpaty-ādy-aneka-vividha-pṛthu-guru-vara-śata-sahasra-yājina[*ḥ] kratuvar-ānuṣṭhāt-ādhiṣṭhā-pratiṣṭhita-parameṣṭhitvasya mahārājasya sakala-jagan-maṇḍala-vimala-guru-pri(pṛ)thu-kṣitipati-makuṭa-maṇi-ga[ṇa-ni]kar-āvanata-pāda-yugalasya mādhava-varmmaṇa[ḥ].

2. Ramatirtham plates :—Sakala-mahī-maṇḍal-āvanata-sāmanta-makuṭa-maṇi-kiraṇ-āvalīḍha-caraṇa-yugo vikhyāta-yaśāḥ śrīman-mahārāja-mādhavavarmmā tasy=orjjitaśrī-viṣṇukuṇḍi-pārtthiv-odit-odit-ānvaya-tilaka-[s a m u d b h ū t-ai]*kādaś-āśvamedh-āvabhṛta(tha)-vidhauta-ja g a t-k a l m a ṣ a-kratu-sahasra-[yā]jinaḥ* snāna-puṇyodaka-pavitrīkṛta-śirasaḥ.

3. Ipur plates (set I):—Smṛti-mati-bala-satva(ttva)-dhairyya-vīryya-vinaya-sampannaḥ sakala-mahīmaṇḍala-manujapati-pratipūjita-śāsanaḥ(°nas =) trivara-nagara-bhavana-gata-yuvati-hṛdaya-nandanaḥ sva-[na]ya-bala-vijita-sakala-sāmant-ātula-bala-vinaya-naya-niy a ma-s a t v a (ttva)-sampannaḥ sakala-jagad-avanipati-pratipūjita-śāsanaḥ-(°no =) *agniṣṭoma-sahasra-yāji-hi[* ra]ṇyagarbbha-prasūta(ḥ) ekādaś-āśvamedh-āvabhṛtha-vidhūta-jagat-kalmaṣaḥ* susti(sthi)ra-karmma-mahārāja-śrī-mādhavavarmmā.

When we remember the fact that no other Viṣṇukuṇḍin king is as yet known to have performed a single sacrifice of any kind except the one named Mādhavavarman, and when we note further the unique numbers—ELEVEN aśva-medhas and THOUSAND agniṣṭomas (*kratus*), testified to by all the above three inscriptions, there remains no doubt as regards the correctness of the identification originally proposed by Hultzsch.

The second set of the Ipur plates (*Ep. Ind*, XVII, p. 334) gives us the following line of kings :—

1. Mahārāja Mādhavavarman (I); his son
2. Devavarman ; his son
3. Mādhavavarman (II); (17th ? year).

As regards Mādhavavarman (II), the issuer of this set of the Ipur plates, Hultzsch says : "As the alphabet of the inscription seems to be of an earlier type than that of the preceding one (*scil.* Ipur plates : set I), and as grandsons are frequently named after their grandfather, I consider it not impossible that Mādhavavarman II was the grandfather of Govindavarman's son Mādhavavarman, who would then have to be designated Mādhavavarman III." A considera-tion of the evidence of the two sets of the Ipur plates render this theory untenable. It is to be noted that Mādhava-varman (I), the grandfather of the issuer of the Ipur plates (set II) is described in that inscription as *ekādaś-āśvamedh-*

āvabhṛth-āvadhūta-jagat-kalmaṣasy=āgniṣ ṭ o m a-s a h a s r a-y ā j i n o='neka sāmanta-makuṭa-kūṭa-maṇi-khacita-caraṇa-yugala-kamalasya mahārājasya śrī-mādhavavarmaṇaḥ. We request our readers to compare this passage with the corresponding passage quoted above from the Ipur plates (set I). Can there be any doubt whatsoever about the identity of this Mādhavavarman (I) with the king of the same name of the Ipur plates (set I), and also of the Chikkulla and the Ramatirtham plates? It is highly improbable that two kings of the same name and dynasty and of the same period performed exactly equal numbers—ELEVEN and THOUSAND—of sacrifices, such as the aśvamedha and the agniṣṭoma. We, therefore, think it perfectly justifiable to identify the king named Mādhavavarman, who has been credited with the performance of eleven aśvamedhas and thousand agniṣṭomas (*kratus*) in all the different Viṣṇukuṇḍin inscriptions.

Moreover, the theory of Hultzsch that Mādhavavarman (whom he is inclined to designate Mādhavavarman III), son of Govindavarman of the Ipur plates (set I), is the grandson of Mādhavavarman II of the Ipur plates (set II), has now been disproved by the discovery of the Polamuru plates wherein Mādhavavarman, son of Govindavarman, is represented as the grandson of Vikramahendra, and not of a king entitled Mādhavavarman.

The Polamuru plates, edited[1] in the *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VI, p. 17ff., give us the following line of kings :—

1. Vikramahendra ; his son
2. Govindavarman ; his son
3. Mahārāja Mādhavavarman (40th ? year).

[1] Previously edited by K. V. Lakshmana Rao in *Journ. Dept. Let*, Calcutta University, Vol. XI, p. 31 ff.

That this Mādhavavarman of the Polamuru plates can be no other than the famous performer of eleven aśvamedhas and thousand agniṣṭomas is proved by his significant epithets : — atula - bala - parākr ama - yaśo - dāna - vinaya - sampanno daśaśata-sakala-dharaṇītala-narapatir=avasita-vividha-divyas=trivaranagara-bhavana-gata-parama-y u v ati-j a n a-v i h a r a ṇa-ratir=anna(na)nya-nṛpatisādhāraṇa-dāna-māna-dayā-dama-dhṛti-mati-kṣānti-śoriy(ś a u r y)-a u d ā r y a-gāṃbhi(bhī)ryya-prabhṛty-aneka-guṇa-sampaj-janit a - r a y a-samutthita-bhūmaṇḍala-vyāpi-vipula-yaśoḥ(°śāḥ) *kratu-sahasra-yājī hiraṇyagarbha-prasūta(ḥ) ekādaś-āśvamedh-āvabhṛtha-snāna-vigata-jagad-enaskaḥ* sarvabhūta-pari-rakṣaṇa-cuñcuḥ(r =) vidva[*d)dvija-guru-vṛddha-tapasvijan-āśrayo mahārāja-śrī-mādhavavarmā.[1]

It appears, however, that Mādhavavarman and Govinda-varman have respectively been called Janāśraya and Vikra-māśraya in this inscription, and it may be argued that they are not identical with the kings of the same names of the Ipur plates (set I). But this doubt is unjustifiable in view of the fact that Mādhavavarman of the Polamuru plates is not only called son of Govindavarman and credited with the performance of eleven aśvamedhas and thousand agniṣṭomas, but is also called *hiraṇyagarbha-prasūta* and *trivaranagara-bhavana-gata-parama-yuvatijana-viharaṇa - r a t i* (*t r i v a r a - nagara-bhavana-gata-yuvati-hṛdaya-nandana* in the Ipur plates), which epithets we find only in his own Ipur plates (set I). There can therefore be no doubt that the Ipur plates (set I) and the Polamuru plates were issued by one and the same person.

In this connection, we must notice the view of some

1 A Sanskrit inscription in archaic characters belonging to a Viṣṇukuṇḍin king named Mādhavavarman has been found on a marble pillar near the entrance of the Rāmaliṅgasvāmī temple at Velpuru in the Sattenapalle taluka of the Guntur district (*An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1925-26, p. 29, No. 581).

scholars,[1] who have identified Mādhavavarman II of the Ipur plates (set II), with the king of the same name of the Chikkulla and Ramatirtham plates, and Vikramahendra of the Polamuru plates with Vikramendravarman II of the Chikkulla plates. We have noticed that only one king of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family may be believed to have performed sacrifices, and, though there seems to be a little exaggeration in the inscription of one of his successors, in all the inscriptions of the dynasty, that king—Mādhavavarman (I), son of Govindavarman and father of Devavarman and Vikramendravarman I—has been credited with the performance of ELEVEN aśvamedhas and THOUSAND agniṣṭomas (*kratus*). As is also noted above, we think it almost impossible that there can be more than one Mādhavavarman, performer of eleven aśvamedhas and thousand agniṣṭomas, in the same family and the same period. But if we accept the above identifications we have three Mādhavavarmans—I, II and III—all of whom were performers of eleven aśvamedhas and thousand agniṣṭomas ![2] Moreover, the identification of Mādhavavarman II of the Ipur plates (set II), with

[1] Sewell, following K. V. Lakshmana Rao, has given the following genealogy of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings in his *List* (1932), p. 404 :—

1. Mādhava I, *c.* A. D. 357-382.
2. Devavarma, *c.* 382-407.
3. Mādhava II, *c.* 407-444. (Ipur grant No. 2)
4. Vikramendra I, *c.* 444-469.
5. Indrabhaṭṭāraka. *c.* 469-496. (Ramatirtham grant)
6. Vikramendra II, *c.* 496-521. (Chikkulla grant)
7. Govinda, *c.* 521-546.
8. Mādhava III, 'Janāśraya,' 546— (?) 610. (Polamuru grant and Ipur grant No. 1)
9. Maṇchaṇṇa-bhaṭṭāraka (?) 610— ?

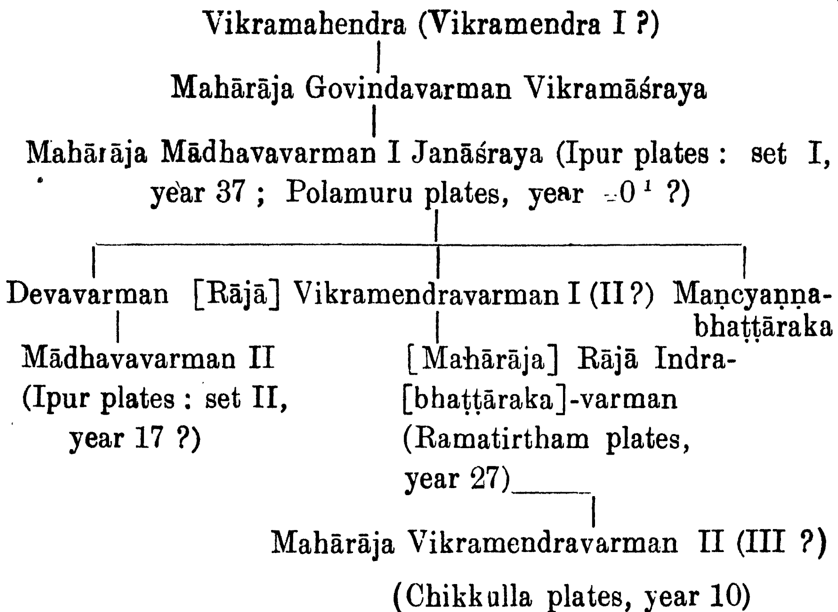
The absurd nature of this chronology is proved by the fact that about the middle of the 4th century not the Viṣṇukuṇḍins but the Śālaṅkāyanas were ruling over the Veṅgī region. See my note in *Quart. Journ. Myth. Soc.*, XXV, pp. 299-301.

[2] See note 1 above. Curiously, a recent writer on the subject (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, X, p. 193) thinks it to be " not a strong argument " !

his namesake of the Chikkulla and Ramatirtham plates is, in my opinion, next to impossible. In the Chikkulla and Ramatirtham plates, we have the significant epithets of the great Mādhavavarman, crediting him with the performance of eleven aśvamedhas and thousand agniṣṭomas ; but these epithets are conspicuous by their absence in the Ipur plates (set II) in connection with the name of Mādhavavarman II. The date of the plates, which is not fully legible but which appears to me to be year 17, has been read by Hultzsch as the 47th year of the king. Is it possible that a king, who performed among other sacrifices eleven aśvamedhas and thousand agniṣṭomas, did not perform a single one of them before the 47th (if my reading is correct, 17th) year of his reign or forgot to refer to such glorious performances in his own inscription? It may also be significant that Mādhavavarman II has no royal title even in his own Ipur plates (set II). Moreover, the identification becomes utterly untenable when we notice that those significant epithets regarding the performance of 11 aśvamedhas and 1,000 agniṣṭomas have been attached in this inscription to the name of his grandfather Mādhavavarman I. We therefore hold that there were only two, and not three, Madhavavarmans among the known kings of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family and that the first of them, who was the grandfather of the second, performed a good many sacrifices including eleven aśvamedhas and thousand agniṣṭomas.

As regards the second identification, nothing need be said after our identification of Mādhavavarman I, the great performer of sacrifices. But it must be noticed that the name is written in the inscription as Vikramahendra which may be the engraver's mistake for Vikramamahendra. If, however, we take it as a slip for Vikramendra, the king should be designated Vikramendra I, there being two other Vikramendras in the family.

The following is the genealogical arrangement of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin princes according to our theory :—



[1] There is only one numerical symbol on the plate. In *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VI (p. 17 ff., line 41), it has been deciphered as 48. It looks like a ligature of the symbol for 40 and that for 8; but as far as I know, there was no method known in ancient India by which a number like 48 could be expressed by one numerical symbol only. The symbol possibly signifies 40 (or 70 ?). It may however also be suggested that 8 was put below 40 for want of space to the right of the latter.

II

CHRONOLOGY OF THE VIṢṆUKUṆḌINS.[1]

We have already dealt with the genealogy of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings. Here we shall discuss the order of succession of the kings of this family and the period to which they are to be assigned.

The first known king of the dynasty is, as we have seen, Vikramahendra. Though he has been given no royal title in the Polamuru grant of his grandson Mādhavavarman I, his epithets *viṣṇukoṇḍinām=apratihata-śāsana* and *svapratāp-opanata-sāmanta-manujapati-maṇḍala* seem to prove that he was a king and had some feudatories under him. His son Govindavarman Vikramāśraya has been called Mahārāja in the Ipur plates (set I) of his son Mādhavavarman I.

Mādhavavarman I Janāśraya, the greatest of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings, appears to have had at least three sons, *viz.*, Devavarman, Mancyanna-bhaṭṭāraka,[2] and Vikramendravarman I (born of a Vākāṭa, *i.e.*, Vākāṭaka princess). Of these we know almost nothing about Mancyanna. Of the other two, *viz.*, Devavarman and Vikramendravarman I, it

[1] My paper on the Viṣṇukuṇḍin chronology was originally published in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, pp. 957-66.

[2] Mañcaṇṇa as a personal name is known to have been used in the Kanarese country in the 12th century A. D. As Prof. Raychaudhuri points out to me, Mañcaṇṇa was the name of a minister of Bijjala or Vijjana, the Kalacurya king of Kalyāṇa (1145-1167 A. D.) This minister was a rival of the king's other minister Basava (Bṛṣabha), the famous founder of the Vīraśaiva or Liṅgāyat sect (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, VIII, pp. 78, 88, 128; and *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, pt. II, p. 47?). Among minor instances, we may take Mañcaṇṇa, a Brāhmaṇa mentioned as receiving some gifts of land in an inscription of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa (1210-1247 A. D.) dated in Śaka saṃ. 1173 (C. P. No 4 of 1925-26),

is known that their sons became kings. We have the Ipur plates (set II) of Devavarman's son Mādhavavarman II (see *infra*) and the Ramatirtham plates of Vikramendravarman (I)'s son Indravarman. Should we then suppose that after the death of Mādhavavarman I the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kingdom was split up into two divisions, ruled separately by his two sons, Devavarman and Vikramendravarman I ? It however seems to me risky to suggest division of kingdom whenever we find two sons of a king or their descendants ruling. It may not be unreasonable to think that there was no such division of kingdom after the death of Mādhavavarman I.

Mādhavavarman I possibly died at a very old age. The date of the Polamuru grant of this king seems to be year 40 or, if K. V. Lakshmana Rao's reading is correct, year 48. It seems, therefore, not impossible that the elder children of Mādhavavarman I died before their father's death. In view of the fact that Devavarmaṇ, in the Ipur plates (set II) of his son Mādhavavarman II, has the only epithet *kṣatriy - āvaskanda - pravarttit - āpratima -vikhyāta-parākrama*, which can by no means suggest his accession to the throne, it appears that this son of Mādhavavarman I did not rule, but predeceased his father. Now, we are to determine whether Mādhavavarman I was succeeded by his son Vikramendravarman I or by his grandson Mādhavavarman II.

According to the Ipur plates (set I), Mādhavavarman I granted the village of Bilembali in the Guddādi-viṣaya to Agniśarman, a Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa gotra. In the Ipur plates (set II), we notice the grant of a village, the name of which seems to me to be Murotukaḷiki, by Mādhavavarman II to two Brāhmaṇas named Agniśarman and Indraśarman. It is not impossible that Agniśarman of the first set is identical with his namesake who was one of the two recipients of the second set of the Ipur plates. In view of the above fact

and also the fact that Devavarman, who seems to have predeceased his father, was possibly an elder brother of Vikramendravarman I, Mādhavavarman II appears to have succeeded his grandfather on the throne (see *infra*). The date of his Ipur plates (set II) has been read by Hultzsch as [40]7, but he says : "The first figure of the year in the date portion is injured and uncertain" (*Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 338). The figure in question, however, seems to be 10 and, consequently, the date may be read as year 17.

Mādhavavarman II was possibly succeeded by his uncle Vikramendravarman I who appears to have been considerably aged at the time of his accession. We have as yet no copper-plate grant issued by this king. The duration of his rule cannot be determined. But if we grant a reign-period of about 25 years to each of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings a consideration of the regnal dates of the known kings of the family, seems to suggest not a very long reign-period of this king. "His reign was probably short" (Dubreuil, *Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 91).

The succession from Vikramendravarman I to Vikramendravarman II appears to be regularly from father to son. All these kings have royal titles in the inscriptions. We, however, cannot be definite as regards the number of Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings that ruled before Vikramahendra and after Vikramendravarman II.

We have now to consider the time of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings. Fortunately for us, the date of Mādhavavarman I can be determined with a certain degree of precision.

The Polamuru plates of Mādhavavarman I record the grant of the village of Pulobūru in the Guddavādi viṣaya by the king in his 40th (or 48th) year as an *agrahāra* to Śivaśarman, a scholar of the Taittirīya school, belonging to the Gautama gotra, resident of Kuṇḷūra in Karmarāṣṭra, son of Dāmaśarman and grandson of Rudraśarman. Next, we are to notice the contents of the Polamuru plates of the

Eastern Calukya king Jayasiṃha I (*Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 254 ff), who began to rule from c. 633 A.D. These plates record the gift of the village of Pulobūṃra in the Guddavādi-viṣaya in the 5th year (15th year, according to *An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1914, p. 10) of the king's reign to Rudraśarman, a scholar of the Taittirīya school, belonging to the Gautama gotra, resident of Asanapura-sthāna, son of Śivaśarman and grandson of Dāmaśarman. There can be no doubt that Pulobūru of the former inscription is identical with Pulobūṃra of the latter, and that the village is to be identified with modern Polamuru (find-spot of both the inscriptions) near the Anaparti Railway station in the Godavari district. There can also be no doubt that Śivaśarman (son of Dāmaśarman), recipient of the grant of Mādhavavarman I, was the father of Rudraśarman (son of Śivaśarman and grandson of Dāmaśarman), the recipient of the grant of Jayasiṃha I. In the latter grant, Rudraśarman is expressly called *pūrv-āgrahārika*, "the former owner of the *agrahāra*." Now, how many years intervened between the date of the first grant and that of the second, that is to say, between the 40th (or 48th) year of Mādhavavarman I and the 5th year of Jayasiṃha I ?

In considering this question, we are to note the following points. *Agrahāras*[1] were generally granted to Brāhmaṇas when they returned from the *gurukula* after finishing studies, in order to help them in settling themselves as *gṛhasthas*. It may therefore be conjectured that Śivaśarman received Polamuru at about the age of 25 or 30[2] when king

[1] *Agrahāra* means *gurukulād = āvṛtta-brahmacāriṇe deyaṃ kṣetrādi*. See Tārānātha's *Vācaspatya*, s. v.

[2] According to Manu (III, 1-2), a Brahmacārin should study the Vedas (three Vedas, two Vedas or one Veda) in the *gurugṛha* for thirty-six years or for half or one-fourth of that period, and should then enter the gṛhasth-āśrama. The same authority however also says (IX, 94) that a man of thirty years of age should marry a girl of twelve and a man of twenty-four a girl of eight. Kullūka Bhaṭṭa

Mādhavavarman was in the 40th (48th according to some) year of his reign. The king thus appears to have been old at the time of granting this *agrahāra* to the Brāhmaṇa youth. Śivaśarman, however, certainly died before the date of the grant of Jayasiṃha I. The epithet *purv-āgrahārika* applied to the name of his son in Jayasiṃha (I)'s grant possibly goes to show that Rudraśarman, as successor of his father, enjoyed the *agrahāra* for some time before the 5th year of Jayasiṃha I, *i.e.*, before *c.* 637 A. D. The most interesting point in this connection, however, is that Rudraśarman in Jayasiṃha (I)'s grant is called "resident of the town of Asanapura." [1] He is expected to have resided at Kuṇḳūra in Karmarāṣṭra, the original place of his father or at Polamuru, the *agrahāra* granted to his father by king Mādhavavarman I. When we remember this change in residence and when we further see that Jayasiṃha I, at the time of the execution of the Polamuru grant, was stationed in a camp, *vijaya-skandhāvāra*, it appears that in the early years of his reign, Jayasiṃha I led an expedition to the Viṣṇukuṇḍin country and encamped in the Guddavādi-viṣaya, somewhere near Polamuru; that constant fights were going on between the forces of the Calukyas and those of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins ; and that Rudraśarman, the *āgrahārika* of Polamuru, had to flee to the town of Asanapura (near Draksharama in the Godavari district) in this troubled period, but came after some time, when Jayasiṃha I was temporarily or permanently master of the whole of

on this verse has : *etac=ca yogya-kāla-pradarśana-paraṃ, na tu niyam-ārtham ; prāyeṇ=aitāvatā kālena gṛhīta-vedo bhavati, tribhāga-vayaskā ca kanyā voḍhur=yuno yogy=eti ; gṛhīta-vedaś=c=opakurvāṇako gṛhasth-āśramaṃ prati na vilambet=eti satvara=ityasy=ārthaḥ.* A story of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣat* (VI, 1-2) says that Śvetaketu went to his *guru* at the age of twelve and returned home after finishing all the (three ?) Vedas at the age of twenty-four.

1 The Niduparu grant of Jayasiṃha I was issued from his *vāsaka* at Asanapura (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 56). The grandfather of the donee of a grant of Viṣṇu-vardhana II is also known to have resided at Asanapura (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 192).

the Guddavādi-viṣaya or a considerable part of it.[1] Considering all these points, I think it not impossible that the difference between the time of the two Polamuru grants was about half a century.[2]

Then, the 40th (or 48th) year of Mādhavavarman I may be *c.* 637 A. D. (date of Jayasiṃha's grant) *minus* 50, that is, *c.* 587 A. D. Mādhavavarman I therefore seems to have

[1] The mastery of two different powers over two different parts of one district does not appear to be impossible. The Candra (*cf.* the Rampal grant of Śrīcandra ; *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, No. 1) and the Varman (*cf.* Belava grant of Bhojavarman ; *ibid*, No. 3), kings of South-Eastern Bengal granted lands in the Puṇḍrabhukti, which has been presumably taken to be the same as the famous Puṇḍravardhanabhukti. But it seems impossible that the Candras and Varmans were ever master of the Koṭivarṣa or Dinajpur region of the Puṇḍravardhanabhukti. I therefore think that in the age of the later Pālas, the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana was divided between the kings of Gauḍa and the kings of South-Eastern Bengal. The slight change in the name of the *bhukti* probably goes to confirm this suggestion.

[2] The difference between the time of the execution of these two grants may possibly be greater and, consequently, Mādhavavarman I might have ascended the Viṣṇukuṇḍin throne a little earlier. But I do not want to go far beyond the estimate of Mr. Subba Rao who suggests that the period may be about 40 years. This suggestion, however, seems to be invalidated by another suggestion of his. He takes Hastikośa and Vīrakośa, who were the executors of the grant of Jayasiṃha I, as personal names. We must notice here that the executors of the grant of Mādhavavarman I were also Hastikośa and Vīrakośa. If we think that these two persons were officers in charge of the Guddavādi-viṣaya, under Mādhavavarman I and also under Jayasiṃha I, the intervening period between the grants of the two kings should possibly be shorter than 40 years. We must however note in this connection that there were a Hastikośa and a Vīrakośa in the Tāḷupāka-viṣaya, who were ordered by king Pṛthivīmūla of the Godavari plates (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XVI, p. 144 ff.) to protect an *agrahāra* in the same viṣaya. Fleet, the editor of the Godavari plates, may be right when he says, " I do not know of any other mention of these two officials, who evidently kept the purses and made disbursements on account of respectively the establishment of elephants and heroes who were to be rewarded for deeds of valour." The epithet *mahāmātra-yodha* applied to Hastikośa-Vīrakośa in the Polamuru grant of Mādhavavarman I, seems to show that they were Mahāmātra of the Military Department. It may also be that the epithet *mahāmātra* goes with Hastikośa and *yodha* with Vīrakośa. The word *mahāmātra*, according to Medinī, means *hastipak-ādhipa* (head of the elephant-drivers or riders ; *cf.* vulgo. *māhut*). The word *yodha* generally means " a soldier." Hastikośa and Vīrakośa have been taken to be " officers in command of the elephant force and the infantry " in *An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1914, p. 85.

ruled from about the end of the first half to about the end of the second half of the sixth century.

In connection with the period of Mādhavavarman I, we must also notice the passage of the Polamuru inscription, which records a grant made by the king when he was crossing the river Godāvarī with a view to conquering the eastern region and another passage which refers to a lunar eclipse in the Phālgunī-Paurṇamāsī (*i.e.*, the full-moon day of the month of Phālguna) as the occasion of the grant. The connection of Mādhavavarman I with the "eastern region" seems to indicate that he was possibly the *andhr-ādhipati* (lord of the Andhra country) who was defeated by the Maukhari king Īśānavarman according to the Haraha inscription of Vikrama Saṃ 611, *i.e.*, A.D. 544 (*vide infra*). This synchronism also places Mādhavavarman I Viṣṇu-kuṇḍin in the middle of the 6th century A.D.

We have just noticed that the village of Pulobūru was granted on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the Phālgunī Pūrṇimā. In the second half of the sixth century, lunar eclipses occurred in the above *tithi* on the following dates :

(1) 11th February, 556 A. D.
(2) 2nd March, 565 A.D.
(3) 21st February, 574 A. D.
(4) 11th February, 575 A. D.
(5) 21st February, 593 A. D.
(6) 10th February, 594 A.D.

Of these dates, years 593 and 594 may be tacitly rejected as they appear to be too late. But it is impossible at the present state of our knowledge to ascertain on which of the other four dates the grant was issued. If, however, we presume that the date of the Polamuru grant falls on any of these four dates and if futher the reading of the date be accepted as 40, Mādhavavarman I Viṣṇukuṇḍin certainly

began to reign sometime between 516 and 535 A.D.[1] The approximate chronology of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings, then may be taken as follows :—

1. Rise of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin power in the 5th century A.D.[2]
2. Vikramahendra (Vikramendra I ?) c. 500-520 A.D.
3. Govindavarman c. 520-535 A.D.
4. Mādhavavarman I c. 535-585 A.D.
5. Mādhavavarman II c. 585-615 A.D.
6. Vikramendravarman I (II ?) c. 615-625 A.D.
7. Indra[bhaṭṭāraka]varman c. 625-655 A.D.
8. Vikramendravarman II (III ?) c. 655-670 A.D.[3]
9. End of the dynasty possibly about the end of the 7th or somewhere in the 8th century A. D.

The period assigned to Indravarman, *viz.*, *circa* 625-655 A.D., is, I think, supported by some views expressed by

1 Mādhavavarman I married a Vākāṭaka princess and his descendants are represented as boasting of the Vākāṭaka connection. His date does not, therefore seem to be far removed from the glorious age of the Vākāṭakas, *viz.*, the 5th century A.D. Smith places this relative of the Vākāṭakas in about 500 A.D. (*J.R.A.S.*, 1914, p. 139.). It is true that Mādhavavarman I is to be placed between the 5th century, the glorious period of the Vākāṭakas, and the 7th century, the age of Jayasiṃha I Eastern Calukya. It therefore seems probable that the reign of Mādhavavarman I began in the first half of the 6th century A.D.

2 It may be tempting to connect the Viṣṇukuṇḍins with the Viṇhukaḍa-Cuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi kings, whose inscriptions (see Lüders, *List* Nos. 1021, 1186 and 1195) and coins (Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. 59) have been discovered. Viṇhukaḍa may possibly be taken to be the same as Viṇhukuḍa, *i.e.*, Viṣṇukuṇḍa which gives the name of the family whereto our kings belonged. But a serious objection that can be raised in this connection is that the Cuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇis who claimed to have belonged to the Mānavya-gotra used metronymics, like Hāritīputra, along with their names like the Sātavāhana-Sātakarṇis. The practice of using such metronymics and also of mentioning the gotra is found, though in a modified way, in the inscriptions of the Kadambas and the Calukyas; but it is conspicuous by its absence in the inscriptions of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. There is therefore no evidence at present to connect the Viṣṇukuṇḍins with the ancient Sātakarṇi kings.

3 According to Kielhorn, the Chikkulla plates (*Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 193) should be palaeographically assigned to the 7th or 8th century A.D. For the 20 years allotted to Mādhavarman II, see *infra*.

Fleet in *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XVI, p. 116. While editing the Godavari plates of Pṛthivīmūla, Fleet said : "The *Adhirāja*[1] Indra, at whose request the grant was made, is mentioned as having fought in company with other chiefs who united to overthrow a certain Indrabhaṭṭāraka. Taking into consideration the locality (the Godavari district) from which the grant comes, and its approximate period as indicated by the palaeographical standard of the characters and the use of numerical symbols in the date, there can be no doubt that Indrabhaṭṭāraka is the Eastern Chalukya of that name, the younger brother of Jayasiṃha I." According to many of the Eastern Calukya grants, however, this Indrabhaṭṭāraka did not reign at all, though some grants assign a reign period of only 7 days to him. It is therefore highly improbable that Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Godavari grant of Pṛthivīmūla was identical with the Eastern Calukya of that name. Kielhorn rightly suggested that the reference to Indravarman Viṣṇukuṇḍin's fights with many *caturdantas* in the Chikkulla grant supports his identification with Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Godavari plates (Ep. *Ind*, IV, p. 195 note). *Caturdanta* is properly the epithet of Indra's Airāvata, the elephant of the east. We are therefore justified in accepting the identification of Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Godavari plates with the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Indravarman or Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman.

Fleet further remarked : "And the figurative expression that the *Adhirāja* Indra, mounted upon the elephant *supratīka* of the north-east quarter, overthrew the elephant *kumuda* of the south-east or southern quarter, shows that this attack upon the Eastern Chalukyas was made from

[1] The word *adhirāṭ*, according to the *Mahābhārata*, means the same thing as *samrāṭ* and *cakravartin* (*Sabdakalpadruma*, s.v.). In later inscriptions however it is known to have denoted subordinate rulers. The Dhod inscription of Cāhamāna Pṛthivīdeva II mentions his feudatory *adhirāja* Kumārapāla (Bhandarkar's List, No. 341). An *adhirāja* Bhoja is mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V, verse 151.

the north-east of their kingdom of Veṅgī." The inscription of the Gaṅga king Indravarman referred to by Fleet are dated in the 128th and 146th year of the Gaṅga era, which "seems to have commenced in A. D. 496" (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, App., p. 201, n. 1 ; *Ind. Ant.*, LXI, p. 237 f.).[1] The above Gaṅga inscriptions were, therefore, issued in *circa* 624 and 642 A.D. Consequently, the Gaṅga king Indravarman was a contemporary of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Indra- or Indrabhaṭṭāraka-varman (*circa* 625-655 A D.).

As regards the possession of Veṅgī by the Eastern Calukyas in the middle of the seventh century A.D., it may be said that there is no conclusive proof of that supposition. From the Aihole inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 4 ff.), we learn that Pulakeśin II reduced the strong fortress of Piṣṭapura, which is the modern Piṭṭapuram (Piṭhapuram) in the Godavari district, near the sea-coast, about 80 miles to the north-east of Peddavegi; and he caused the leader of the Pallavas to shelter himself behind the ramparts of Kāñcī, modern Conjeeveram about 40 miles to the south-west of Madras. Fleet says : "Probably during the campaign which included the conquest of Piṭṭapuram and which must have taken place at this time (*i.e.*, A.D. 616 or 617), the Veṅgī country was made a part of the Chālukya dominions; and the reference to the Pallavas immediately after the mention of Piṣṭapura, has been understood as indicating that it was from their possession that Veṅgī was taken" (*Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 94 f.). After the publication of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin copper-plate grants, however, the theory of the Pallava occupation of Veṅgī in the beginning of the 7th century A.D. may be tacitly given up. Since Lenduḷūra, for some time the residence (*vāsaka*) of a Viṣṇukuṇḍin king, has been undisputedly identified with

[1] Dr. R. C. Majumdar has recently suggested that the beginning of the Gaṅga era falls between 550 and 557 A.D. (*Ind. Cult.*, IV, p. 171 ff.). Unfortunately, he has totally ignored the astronomical side of the question.

Deṇḍalūru, a village on the ruins of the ancient city of Veṅgī, 5 miles north-east of Ellore in the Godavari district, it is certain that the Veṅgī country passed from the hands of the Śālaṅkāyanas to the possession of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.

It is interesting to notice a passage in the Aihole inscription dated in 634-35 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, *loc. cit.*) which describes Pulakeśin (II)'s southern campaign. Verse 28 of that famous inscription speaks of a piece of water, which appears to contain some islands that were occupied by Pulakeśin's forces. This piece of water has been called the Kaunāla water or the water (or lake) of Kunāla. The position of this Kunāla is indicated by the sequence of events recorded in the inscription. Verse 26 tells us that Pulakeśin II subdued the Kaliṅgas and the Kośalas and then, according to the following verse, took the fortress of Piṣṭapura. After that is recorded the occupation of Kunāla (verse 28); this again is followed, in the next verse, by Pulakeśin's victory over the Pallava king near Kāñcīpura. Verse 29 describes the Calukya king as crossing the river Kāverī, after which is described his contact with the Colas, Keralas and the Pāṇḍyas (verse 31). Kielhorn seems therefore perfectly reasonable when he says (*ibid*, pp. 2-3). "Pulakeśin's march of conquest therefore is from the north to the south, along the east coast of Southern India; and the localities mentioned follow each other in regular succession from the north to the south. This in my opinion shows that 'the water of Kunāla' can only be the well-known Kolleru lake, which is south of Piṭhapuram, between the rivers Godāvarī and Kṛshṇā. To that lake the description of ' the water of Kunāla ' given in the poem would be applicable even at the present day, and we know from other inscriptions that the lake contained at least one fortified island, which more than once has been the object of attack." Since the ruins of Veṅgī and Deṇḍalūru lie in the

vicinity of the Kolleru lake there can now hardly be any doubt that the 'water of Kunāla' (*i.e.*, the Kolleru or Kollair lake) was, at the time of Pulakeśin (II)'s invasion, in the possession of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and that the battle of Kunāla was fought between the Calukya king and a Viṣṇukuṇḍin ruler who was most probably either Mādhavavarman II or Vikramendravarman I, both of whom were weak successors of the great Madhavavarman I.

The theory now generally accepted is that Veṅgī was conquered by Pulakesin II, during his campaign in the south-eastern region. There is, as I have already said, no conclusive evidence in support of this theory. In the records of the early Eastern Calukya kings there is no reference to the occupation of Veṅgī at all. The first use of the name of Veṅgī is in the inscriptions of the time of Amma I (918-925 A.D.) which call Vijayāditya II (*c.* 794-842 A.D.) *veṅg-īśa*, and in the inscriptions of the time of Cālukya Bhima II (934-945 A.D.), which contain the first explicit statement that the territory over which Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana and his successors ruled was the Veṅgī country (*Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 94). Both Amma I and Cālukya Bhima II reigned in the tenth century A.D.; the evidence of their inscriptions as to the Calukya occupation of Veṅgī in the 7th century can, therefore, be reasonably doubted. The fact seems to be that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins of Veṅgī, from the time of the Calukya possession of Piṣṭapura, became weaker and weaker, and their country was gradually annexed to the waxing empire of the Eastern Calukyas. The formal annexation which took place possibly after the extinction of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins end of the 7th or (somewhere in the 8th century A.D. ?) seems to have been completed long before the tenth century A.D., *i.e.*, the time of Amma I and Calukya Bhīma II, when the Eastern Calukyas claimed that they were master of the Veṅgī country from the very beginning of their history. There appears therefore no

strong grounds against our theory that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, though shorn of their past glory, were ruling for sometime at Veṅgī, contemporaneously with the Eastern Calukyas, who ruled first probably from Piṣṭapura,[1] next from Veṅgī[2] and then from Rājamahendrī.[3]

We have to notice two other points before we conclude this section. Smith in his *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 441, says: "In the east he (*scil.* Pulakeśin II) made himself master of Veṅgī, between the Krishṇā and the Godāvarī, and established his brother Kubja Vishṇu-vardhana there as viceroy in A.D. 611 with his capital at the stronghold of Pishṭapura, now Piṭhapuram in the Godavari district." Smith, here, professes to rely on the Kopparam plates of Pulakeśin II, edited by Lakshmana Rao in *Ann. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, IV, p. 43 ff. These plates, which are full of textual mistakes, seem to record

[1] It is to be noted that the Timmapuram grant of Viṣṇuvardhana I Viṣama-siddhi was issued from the *vāsaka* (literally, residence) of Piṣṭapura. We have suggested above that possibly the term *vāsaka*, like the term *skandhāvāra*, signifies temporary (or sometimes secondary) capital of a king. It is well known that Pulakeśin II crushed the power of the king of Piṣṭapura (*piṣṭaṃ Piṣṭapuraṃ yena*) and established his brother Kubja-Viṣṇu-vardhana on the throne of that place. At the time of Viṣṇuvardhana therefore Piṣṭapura could reasonably be looked upon as the *vāsaka* or *skandhāvāra* of this king.

[2] The *Veṅg-īśa* (lord of Veṅgī) antagonists of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas appear to have been the Eastern Calukya kings (see *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, Pt. II, p. 199). The earliest reference to a king of Veṅgī in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records appears to be that in an inscription dated 770 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 209). The Eastern Calukyas therefore seem to have occupied Veṅgī before the 9th century A.D. possibly before the second half of the 8th century, the time of Vijayāditya II and his father.

[3] According to Sewell (*Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 94, note 6) there are two traditions regarding the origin of the name of Rājamahendrī (modern Rajamundry) or Rāja-mahendrapura. The first of these traditions connects the name with a Calukya king named "Vijayāditya Mahendra." This Vijayāditya Mahendra is apparently the Eastern Calukya king Amma II (A.D. 945-970) who had the epithet Rājamahendra and the surname Vijayāditya VI (*ibid*, p. 270) Fleet (*ibid*, pp. 93-94), however, takes the founder of, or the first Eastern Calukya king at, Rājamahendrapuram to be Amma I (918-925 A.D.), who no doubt had the epithet Rājamahendra, but whose surname was Viṣṇuvardhana (VI) and not Vijayāditya.

the grant of some lands in Karmarāṣṭra (northern part of Nellore and southern part of Guntur) by one Pṛthivī-Duvarāja in the presence of Pulakeśin II. The grant is dated in the *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṃvatsara 21.* Hultzsch while editing these plates in *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, has shown that the inscription belongs to the 21st regnal year of Pulakeśin II, *i.e.*, to about A. D. 629-30 and that Pṛthivī-Duvarāja is to be identified with his younger brother Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, who is styled Pṛthivī-vallabha-Viṣṇuvardhana,-Yuvarāja in the Satara grant (*Ind. Ant.*, XIX. p. 309). The word *duvarāja* is a Dravidian *tadbhava* of Sanskrit *yuvarāja*. *Cf*. *Akalaṅkat-tuvarāyar* = Sanskrit *akalaṅka-yuvarāja* in the Amber ins.; *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 180, and *Tuvarāśan* = *yuvarāja* in the Kasakudi ins.; *S. Ind. Ins.*, II, No. 73.[1] Lakshmana Rao, however, thought that Duvarāja of this inscription is to be identified with Dhruvarāja of the Goa plates, and that the year 21 of his reign falls in A.D. 611.

But even if we accept 611 A.D. to be the date when Pulakeśin II invaded Karmarāṣṭra and defeated the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king, does it follow that Pulakeśin II conquered the whole of the kingdom of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins ? Does the defeat of a king always lead to the loss of his entire territory ? Pulakeśin II is known to have defeated the Pallava king, penetrated through the whole of the Pallava territory and crossed the Kāverī ; but was the Pallava power weakened ? Again, in 642 A.D., the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman defeated and killed Pulakeśin II and

[1] It is also interesting to note in this connection the name of the third king of the Calukya line of Kalyāṇī. In many of the inscriptions it is given as Daśavarman, but it is also written (*e.g.*, in the Kauthem grant; *Ind. Ant.*, XVI, p. 15) as Yaśovarman. Fleet while noticing the point remarked, "The reason for the variation there is not apparent" (*Bomb. Gaz.* I, pt, II, p. 431). It seems to me that Daśavarman is an emended form of Daśovarman which is but the same as Yaśovarman.

took Vātāpi, the Calukya capital; but did the Calukya power permanently collapse? Did not the power of the Calukyas exist even during the period of Rāṣṭrakūṭa usurpation? [1]

Then again according to Bilhaṇa (*Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, Intro., p. 44; *Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 323) the Calukya emperor Vikramāditya VI of Kalyāṇī marched on and occupied Kāñcī, the capital of the Colas (*i.e.*, the Eastern Calukyas), and amused himself there for sometime before returning to his capital. "It is doubtless this campaign that led to there being so many inscriptions, referring themselves to the reign of Vikramāditya VI, at Draksharama and other places in the Telugu country, outside the ordinary limits of the Western Chalukya kingdom" (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, pt. II, p. 453, note 1.). But does this fact prove that Kāñcī and the Telugu country were permanently occupied by the Calukyas of Kalyāṇī? Temporary success like this is possibly also shown in the grant of two villages near Talakāḍ, the Gaṅga capital in Mysore, by the Kadamba king Ravivarman (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 146; Sewell, *List*, s. v. C. A.D. 500; Moraes, *Kadambakula*, p. 48).

To commemorate even the temporary occupation of part of a country, Indian kings appear to have used to grant there lands to Brāhmaṇas (see *Manusaṃhitā*, VII, verses 201-02), and generally, this sort of grants was acknowledged by other kings who followed the donor in the rule of that locality.[2] It may, therefore, be not altogether impossible that Pulakeśin II penetrated as far as Karmarāṣṭra, where the reigning Viṣṇukuṇḍin king was defeated, and the Calukya king felt himself justified in granting lands in

1 *Vide* the Calukya genealogy as given, *e.g*, in the Kauthem grant (*Ind. Ant.*, XVI, p. 15). See also *Bomb. Gaz.*, I. pt. II, p. 380 ff

2 *Cf. sva-dattāṃ para-dattāṃ vā yo hareta vasundharām*, etc., quoted in the copper-plate grants

the district of which he thought himself to be master for the time being at least.[1]

If these suggestions be accepted, there is then no difficulty as regards the discovery of Calukya grants, giving lands in places which were originally under the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. We however do not argue that all the Eastern Calukya kings who granted lands in the country once occupied by the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were temporary possessors of the land. It seems reasonable to believe that the Viṣṇukuṇḍin country gradually, not long after the invasion of Pulakeśin II, merged into the Eastern Calukya empire and gradually the Viṣṇukuṇḍins lost all their territories excepting the small district round their capital city of Veṅgī. The existence of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule at Veṅgī in the 7th century may be compared with that of the Kadamba rule at Vaijayantī even in the glorious age of the early Calukyas of Bādāmi.

The next point is regarding the find-spot of the Ramatirtham plates of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Indravarman. The plates were found at a place near Vizianagram in the Vizagapatam district of the Madras Presidency. They record the grant of a village in the Plakirāṣṭra, which was evidently situated in the Vizagapatam district (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 91). On the evidence of the find of these plates, it may be suggested that the Vizianagram region was included in the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kingdom, that is to say, the Viṣṇukuṇḍin boundary extended as far as the borders of

[1] It is also possible that the time of Pulakeśin (II)'s expediton, the Karmarāṣṭra was occupied not by the Viṣṇukuṇḍins (but by a branch of the Pallavas?). In A.D. 639 the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang visited the kingdom of An-to-lo (*i.e.*, Andhra), which was a small district only 3,000 *li* (about 4,500 miles) in circuit. The capital was at Ping-ki-lo, which seems to be a mistake for Ping-ki-pu-lo, *i.e.*, Veṅgīpura. The southern part of the Andhra country formed a separate kingdom called To-na-kie-tse-kia (Dhānyakaṭaka?) or Ta-An-to-lo (Mahāndra) with its capital possibly at Bezwāḍa, where the pilgrim resided for "many months". See Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, ed. 1924, pp. 590 ff., 608 ff. and 647.

the Ganjam district.[1] In view of the fact that there were the royal house of Piṣṭapura, the houses of the Varmans of Siṃhapura, Vardhamānapura, Sunagara, Śrīpura and Sārapallikā and also of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara whose era probably started from 496 A.D., permanent Viṣṇukuṇḍin occupation of the Vizianagram region seems to be highly improbable. The truth might have been that in retaliation to the raids of Pulakeśin II and Jayasiṃha I, Indravarman Viṣṇukuṇḍin invaded the Calukya country and penetrated as far as the Pḷakirāṣṭra, where he made grants of land, as did Pulakeśin II in Karmarāṣṭra, Jayasiṃha I in Guddavādi and Gudrāhāra, and Vikramāditya VI in the Telugu country. The Pḷakirāṣṭra or Vizagapatam district seems to have been under the Eastern Calukyas as early as the 18th year of Viṣṇuvardhana I. His Chipurupalle plates (*Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 15), dated in that year, were found in the Vizagapatam district. They evidently refer to the Pḷakiviṣaya, doubtfully read as Pūkiviṣaya by Burnell and Fleet. This Pḷakiviṣaya is evidently the same as Pḷakirāṣṭra of the Ramatirtham plates of Indravarman.

We have seen that the Godavari grant of Pṛthivīmūla refers to a coalition of kings against Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman, who has been identified with the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king of that name. It seems to me that when Indravarman Viṣṇukuṇḍin defeated the Eastern Calukya forces and penetrated far into their country, Jayasiṃha I, who seems to have been the Eastern Calukya contemporary of Indravarman, formed an alliance with several other kings, one

[1] See, e g , *Quart. Journ. Myth. Soc.*, XXV, p. 80. Kielhorn entered the Chikkulla grant of Viṣṇukuṇḍin Vikramendravarman II in his List of Inscriptions of *Northern India* (*Ep. Ind.*, V. App., No. 607). Following Kielhorn, D. R. Bhandarkar has also entered the Viṣṇukuṇḍin inscriptions in his List of Inscriptions of Northern India (*Ep Ind.*, XX-III, App., Nos. 1117 and 2096-99). The Śālaṅkāyana and Viṣṇukuṇḍin records must properly be entered into a List of *South Indian* Inscriptions, as these were local dynasties ruling over the Andhra country in the south.

of whom was *Adhirāja* Indra, identified by Fleet with the Gaṅga king Indravarman. The combined forces of these allied kings possibly defeated the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king and compelled him to return and shelter himself behind the ramparts of his capital, the city of Veṅgī.

III

VIKRAMAHENDRA (VIKRAMENDRA I?) AND GOVINDAVARMAN VIKRAMĀŚRAYA.

As we have already noticed, king Vikramahendra is mentioned only in the Polamuru grant of his grandson Mādhavavarman I. He is there described as favoured by (*i.e.*, as a devotee of) Lord Śrīparvatasvāmin and is said to have subdued the feudatory chiefs by his own valour. The Lord Śrīparvatasvāmin is referred to in all the inscriptions of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family and may, therefore, be taken to have been the family-deity of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. Śrīparvata may be identified with Śrīśaila in the Kurnool district of the Madras Presidency.[1] The original home of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family may, therefore, be supposed to have been not very far from Śrīśaila. Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind.*, IV, 193) suggested a connection of the name of the family with that of the hill-fort and town of Viṇukoṇḍa in the Kistna district, about 60 miles east of Śrīśaila and 50 miles south of the Krishna river. Viṇukoṇḍa, according to Kielhorn, was possibly the early home of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.

The son and successor of Vikramahendra was Govindavarman. His surname Vikramāśraya and the epithet *aneka-samara-saṃghaṭṭa-vijayin* possibly show that he was a king of considerable importance. He is said to have been obeyed by all the feudatory chiefs.

[1] Excepting the grant of Mādhavavarman II, which applies the epithet *bhagavac-chrīparvatasvāmi-pād-ānudhyāta* to the name of the issuer himself, all other Viṣṇukuṇḍin records apply the epithet to the first king (a predecessor of the issuer) with whose name the genealogical part of the inscriptions begins. In the records therefore king Vikramendravarman I and his son and grandson are not themselves called "favoured by (*i.e.*, devotee of) Lord Śrīparvata-svāmin." The celebrated temple of god Śiva, called Mallikārjuna, is situated on the northern plateau of the Nallamalai hills. Many Western Calukya grants have been found in the Kurnool district which region appears to have passed to the Western Calukyas before the middle of the 7th century.

IV

MĀDHAVAVARMAN I JANĀŚRAYA.

Mādhavavarman I Janāśraya appears to have been the greatest of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings.[1] The performance of 11 aśvamedhas, 1,000 agniṣṭomas and some other rites including the Hiraṇyagarbha proves that he was a prince of power and resources. In very early times the aśvamedha was evidently performed by kings desirous of offspring (see Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *aśva*). According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (I, viii, 2), king Daśaratha performed this sacrifice for progeny (*sut-ārthī vājimedhena kim=arthaṃ na yajāmy=aham*). Kings are also known to have performed aśvamedha for purifying themselves from sin. According to Viṣṇu, *aśvamedhena śudhyanti mahāpātakinas=tv=ime* (*Śabdakalpadruma-pariśiṣṭa*, s. v. *aśvamedha*). Yudhiṣṭhira in the *Mahābhārata* (XIV, ii) is said to have performed the horse-sacrifice with a view to purifying himself. But, as we have already noticed, it was performed only by a king who was a conqueror and a king of kings. Keith has rightly pointed out that the Aśvamedha "is an old and famous rite, which kings alone can bring to increase their realms" (*Rel. Phil. Ved. Up.*, p. 343). The *Baudhāyana Śr. Sūt.* (XV, i)

Lakshmana Rao (*Journ. Dept. Let.*, XI, pp. 55-58) refers to several traditions that have grown on the glorious name of Mādhavavarman. A 13th century inscription in the Malleśvarasvāmī temple at Bezwāḍa gives an anecdote about Mādhavavarman, king of Bezwāḍa in Śaka 117 (!), who punished his own son with death for killing a poor woman's son. A Bezwāḍa pillar inscription of the 16th century claims for a general of Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara descent from Mādhavavarman of Bezwāḍa. A poem called *Śrīkṛṣṇavijayam* (c. 1540 A.D.) speaks of the migration into Telingana of four Rajput tribes under the leadership of one Mādhavavarman in Śaka 514. This Mādhavavarman is claimed to be the ancestor of the family of the Mahārāja of Vizianagram in the Vizagapatam district. The caste called *Rāzu* or *Rāchavār* in the Telugu country also claims Mādhavavarman as progenitor.

Taittirīya Br. (III, 8, 9, 4; V, 4, 12, 3), *Āpastamba Śr. Sūt.* (XX, I, i) and many other early texts prove beyond doubt that a feudatory ruler could not perform the aśvamedha.[1] A point of great interest, however, is that Mādhavavarman I claims to have performed as many as ELEVEN aśvamedhas, while successful conquerors like Samudragupta and Puṣyamitra are known to have performed only one or two aśvamedhas. Of course, from the description of the sacrifice given in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, it appears that some aśvamedhic practices of the Vedic age may have been slightly modified in the epic period; but it is impossible to think that it became so easy as to be performed by even a king of the feudatory rank. It must be noticed that some Vedic kings are known to have performed a great number of aśvamedhas. Thus Bharata, son of Duṣyanta, according to a *gāthā* quoted in the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (XIII, iii, 5, 11; Weber's edition, p. 994), performed as many as one hundred and thirty-three horse-sacrifices on the banks of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā (*aṣṭāsaptatiṃ bharato dauṣyantir =yamunām=anu gaṅgāyāṃ vṛtraghne=' badhnāt pañca-pañcāśataṃ hayān=iti*). According to another *gāthā* (*loc. cit.*, 13), Bharata performed more than a thousand aśvamedhas after conquering the whole earth (*paraḥsahasrān=indrāy= āśvamedhān=ya=āharad=vijitya pṛthivīṃ sarvām=iti*). The epics and Purāṇas however knew of traditions regarding some early kings trying to perform a hundred aśvamedhas, which would lead the performer to the attainment of the seat of Indra who is, therefore, represented as trying to prevent the hundredth sacrifice (see *Vāmana-Purāṇa*, Ch. 78; *Raghu.*, III, 38-66; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, IV, 16, 24; 17, 4; etc.). May it be that the Vedic aśvamedha was less pompous than the epic aśvamedha and that the aśvamedhas performed by South Indian kings were of the Vedic type?

1 See Keith, *Black Yajus*, pp. cxxxii-iv and Appendix *below*.

We have already noticed that the Deccan performs Vedic rites more fanatically than Northern India. See also my views in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, p. 40.

Mādhavavarman I married a girl of the Vākāṭaka family of Northern Deccan, and thus made his power secure in that direction.[1] According to V. A. Smith (*J. R. A. S.*, 1914, p. 137) the Vākāṭaka father-in-law of Mādhavavarman Viṣṇukuṇḍin was king Hariṣeṇa who claims to have conquered the Andhra and Kaliṅga countries. It is also believed that Mādhavavarman succeeded in getting the possession of the Veṅgī country by virtue of this Vākāṭaka alliance (Sewell, *List.*, s.v. A. D. 500). This suggestion is however untenable in view of the fact that Mādhavavarman I, though he was the greatest king, was not the first king of his dynasty, he being at least preceded by his father Govindavarman and grandfather Vikramahendra. The Polamuru grant calls him *daśaśata-sakala-dharaṇītala-narapati*[2] and credits him with an expedition for the conquest of the eastern region.

It must be noticed in this connection that, in the Haraha inscription dated A. D. 554, the Maukhari king Īśānavarman claims victory over an *Andhr-ādhipati*. There can hardly be any doubt that this *Andhr-ādhipati* was a Viṣṇukuṇḍin king. Prof. Raychaudhuri (*Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd ed., p. 370) has taken this Andhra king to be Mādhavavarman of the Polamuru plates who according to this grant "crossed the river Godāvarī with a desire to conquer the

[1] Dr. D. C. Ganguly writes in *Ind Hist. Quart.*, VIII, p 26 : "Mādhavavarman I was the founder of this dynasty. His mother was a princess of the Vākāṭaka family." According to the Chikkulla plates (*Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 193), however, the Vākāṭaka princess was the mother of Vikramendravarman I, son of Mādhavavarman I. *Cf. Viṣṇukuṇḍi-vākāṭa-vaṃśa-dvay-ālaṃkṛta-janmanaḥ śrī-vikramendravarmaṇaḥ*, etc. As we have shown, Mādhavavarman I was not the founder or the first king of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty.

[2] Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma suggests to me that the epithet may possibly be translated as "lord of the Veṅgī Ten Thousand."

eastern region." This identification suits well the chronology we have accepted in these pages. It may not be impossible that the eastern expedition of Mādhavavarman I was undertaken in retaliation to his previous unsuccessful struggle with the Maukharis. This supposition is supported by the fact that a victory over the Andhras is alluded to in the Jaunpur Inscription of Īśvaravarman, father of Īśānavarman Maukhari (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 230).

In the Polamuru grant, Mādhavavarman I has been called *avasita-vividha-divya* (line 8). This passage has been left out in the translation of Mr. Subba Rao who has edited the inscription in *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VI, p. 17 ff. The passage, however, appears to me very important in connection with the administration of justice in the Andhra country at the time of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. Here is a clear evidence of the prevalence of the system of trial by ordeals in the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kingdom. The word *divya*, here, certainly means "ordeal" and *vividha-divya* "various (forms of) ordeals." The verb *ava-so* has, among others, the meanings "to accomplish," "to k[illegible] [illegible]y." The passage *avasita-vividha-*[illegible] [illegible]an, one "who has accomplish[illegible] [illegible]," or "who has known (h[illegible] [illegible]f) ordeals," or "who has de[illegible] forms of ordeals." We [illegible] man I Viṣṇukuṇḍin pe[illegible] thousand agniṣṭomas(*kr*[illegible] connection that no one [illegible] perform an aśvamedha [illegible] indecent and obnoxio[illegible] performance of this s[illegible] of the performer of t[illegible] beside the sacrificial ho[illegible] her own private parts ([illegible] *akṛṣya sva-yonau sth*[illegible]

XXXII. 18-25; and *aśvasya śiśnaṃ mahiṣy = upasthe nidhatte* : *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, XIII, iv, 2). Mādhavavarman I, performer of eleven aśvamedhas, thus appears to have been one of the most orthodox Hindu kings of ancient India.[1] It is, therefore, doubtful whether we can expect from him such a great reform as the abolition of the deep-rooted system of trial by ordeals, which is sanctioned by ancient law-givers and which was in use in our country as late as the end of the 18th century and possibly still later.[2] The last meaning is, therefore, less probable. The *divyas* or ordeals, which were used in ancient Indian courts in order to ascertain the truth of a statement, has been enumerated as nine in the *Divyatattva* of Bṛhaspati. They were ordeal (1) by balance, (2) by fire, (3) by water, (4) by poison, (5) by "image-washed" water, (6) by rice, (7) by the hot *māṣaka*, (8) by spear-head, and (9) by images. *Cf.*

dhaṭo = gnir = udakañ = c = aiva viṣaṃ kośaś = ca pañcamam
ṣaṣṭhañ = ca taṇḍulāḥ proktaṃ saptamaṃ tapta-māṣakam
aṣṭamaṃ phālam = ity = uktaṃ navamaṃ dharmajaṃ smṛtam.

For ... he *Divyas* in *Journ. Andhra*
Hi ... d Appendix *below.*
... uru grants the king is
... of the damsels residing

... he is credited with a number of
... If this tradition is to be believed,
... natic.

... Trial by ordeals is used to settle up
... ra region even at the present day.
... Government, in course of his
... Club on March 9, 1934, said, "In
... gency) is to make the parties
... he whole way round continually
... ' (from Report in the *Amrita*
... valent in the Marāṭhā country
... e as the 19th century A.D. (see
... ed., p. 363 ff.)

in the houses of Trivaranagara. Trivaranagara appears to mean "the city of king Trivara."[1] A king named Trivara has been mentioned in the Kondedda grant (*Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 267) of the Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja, as having formed an alliance with a certain king named Mādhava and fought against Dharmarāja. It is possible that king Trivara of the Kondedda inscription is the same as that mentioned in the grants of Mādhavavarman I Viṣṇukuṇḍin. Mādhavavarman I however does not appear to have lived at the time of Śailodbhava Dharmarāja and therefore can hardly be identical with Mādhava who fought against the Śailodbhava monarch. A king named Tīvara is found in the line of the Pāṇḍavas of Kośala, who had their capital at Śrīpura (see the Rajim and Baloda grants, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 291 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p 10 ff.). The charters and seals of Mahāśiva Tīvararāja of Śrīpura are in the box-headed character. According to some scholars, the boxheaded characters were in use in the 5th and 6th centuries of the Christian era (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 596). Fleet and Kielhorn, however, think that the inscriptions of Tīvara of Kośala are not earlier than 700 A.D. (*Indische Palaeographie*, p. 63, note 20). According to Bühler (*ibid*, p. 62), the Central Indian or "box-headed" type is found fully developed "in einer Inschrift Samudragupta's aus Eran und einer Chandragupta's II. aus Udayagiri, den kupfertafeln der Könige von Sarabhapura, den Inschriften der Vākāṭaka; der des Tīvara von Kośala und in zwei frühen Kadamba-Inschriften." The Gupta, Vākāṭaka and Kadamba records are definitely known to be earlier than 700 A.D. The same may be the case with the inscriptions of Tīvara

[1] I am indebted for this suggestion to Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri. Lakshmana Rao identifies it with Tewar in the Jabbulpore district and considers it to have been the place of Mādhavavarman (I)'s father-in-law (*Journ. Dept. Let.*, XI, pp. 34, 39). The passage in question however seems to suggest his hostile relations with Trivaranagara rather than his marriage with a girl of that place.

of Kośala. It must be noticed in this connection that Fleet's and Kielhorn's view that the Vākāṭaka records date from the 7th century A.D. (*ibid*, note 19) has now been conclusively disproved.

The performance of Vedic sacrifices and the epithet *parama-brahmaṇya* (highly hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas) clearly show that Mādhavavarman I was a staunch follower of the Brahmanical faith.

I. The Ipur plates (set I) were issued on the 15th day of the 7th fortnight of summer in the 37th year[1] of the king, from the camp of Kuḍavāḍa (*vijaya-skandhāvārāt kuḍavāḍa-vāsakāt*). They record a notice to the inhabitants of Vilembali in the Guddādi-viṣaya. The village was granted by the king to a Brāhmaṇa named Agniśarman belonging to the Vatsa gotra, and all royal officers were ordered to protect it and make it immune from taxation. The executor of the grant was the king's beloved son, Prince Mancyaṇṇa. The village of Villembali and the Guddādi-viṣaya have not been satisfactorily identified. Guddādi may be the same as Guddavādi-viṣaya, *i.e.*, the present Rāmachandrapur taluka. It is possibly not the same as the Gudrāhāra-viṣaya which is the district round Gudivāḍa in the Kistna district.

The seal of king Mādhavavarman I attached to the plates is circular and somewhat worn. It is divided by a cross-line into two sections. The lower section bears in relief *Śrī-Mādhavavarmā* in two lines. Hultzsch thought that the upper section bears the figure of Lakṣmī or *svastika* on a pedestal, flanked by two lamp-stands and possibly surmounted by the sun and crescent of the moon (*Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 334). As on the seals attached to the Chikkulla and Ramatirtham plates the figure of a lion is clearly visible, it may not be impossible that the obliterated part

[1] The old form of dating in the Viṣṇukuṇḍin records is probably due to local custom of the original home of the dynasty. See *infra*.

above the line contained the figure of a lion which was possibly the crest of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.

II. The Polamuru grant[1] was issued by the king when he set out on the eastern expedition and was crossing the Godāvarī. By it the *mahattaras* and *adhikāra-puruṣas* were informed that the king made an *agrahāra* of the village of Pulobūru on the Daḷiyavāvi river and of four *nivartanas* of land at the southern extremity of Mayindavāṭakī, and granted it to the Gautama gotra Brāhmaṇa Śivaśarman, resident of Kunḷūra in Karmarāṣṭra. As Polamuru (Pulobūru of the inscription) is a village in the Ramchandrapur taluka of the Godavari district, the present taluka may be roughly identified with the Guddavādi-viṣaya in which the village is said to have been situated. Mayinda-vāṭakī has been identified with Mahendravāḍa adjacent to Polamuru, and Daḷiyavāvi with the small stream Tulyabhāga now turned into a drainage canal. Kunḷūra may be the same as Koṇḍuru in the Sattanepalle tāluka or Peda-Koṇḍuru in the Taṇuku taluka of the Guntur district. As we have already seen, the village of Polamuru was re-granted to the recipient's son by the Eastern Calukya king Jayasiṁha I who probably conquered the region from the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.

In the Sanskrit lexicon *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, *mahattara* has been called the same as *grāma-kūṭa*, "the head of a village" (*cf. rāṣṭra-kūṭa* "head of a *rāṣṭra*," an official designation in the Calukya inscriptions). Evidently, affairs in villages were controlled by them. The word *adhikāra-puruṣa* appears to mean "a *puruṣa* (agent) having an *adhikāra* (a post)," *i.e.*, a government official *cf. na niṣprayoja-nam = adhikāravantaḥ prabhubhir = āhūyante* : *Mudrā-rākṣasa*, Act III. The mention of the *mahattaras* along with

1 The language and orthography of this record are bad, and the characters are rude and late. The authenticity of the grant therefore may not be quite certain. But we are not definite, as sometimes we also get copies of older records. See also our remarks at p. 57 and notes *above*.

"'government officials" possibly shows that the former were not salaried officers of the government.[1] The executors of the grant were the Hastikośa and Vīrakośa, which terms have already been discussed.

"It is believed that the seal (of the Polamuru plates) contains the figure of a lion, the crest of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, and probably also the name of the royal donor" (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VI, p. 17).

[1] *Cf.* the case of *grāmika* in Manu, VII. 115-19; also *below*.

MĀDHAVAVARMAN II.

Mādhavavarman II was the son of Devavarman and grandson of Mādhavavarman I. Only one copper-plate grant of this king has been discovered. It was found at Ipur, a village in the Tenali taluka of the Guntur district. The grant appears to have been issued on the 7th day of the 7th *pakṣa* of *varṣā* in the 17th (47th according to Hultzsch) regnal year,[1] from Amarapura which may probably be identified with the modern Amarāvatī.

Mādhavavarman II has been described in this inscription as *trikūṭa-malay-ādhipati*, "lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya." We do not know of any other Malaya except the famous Malaya mountain, generally identified with the southernmost part of the Western Ghats. Trikūṭa is placed by Kālidāsa (*Raghu.*, IV, 58-59) in the Aparānta, *i. e.*, Northern Koṅkaṇ. It is, however, difficult at the present state of our knowledge to justify Mādhavavarman II's claim to be in possession of those countries. The epithet may show that the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king came into hostile relations with Trikūṭa and Malaya. He may have joined the armies of some powerful king who invaded those regions.[2] Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao appears to suggest that Mādhavavarman II was Viceroy at a place called Trikūṭamalaya which he is inclined to identify with Koṭappakoṇḍa near Narasaraopeta (*Bhāratī* (Telugu), 1930, p. 414; *Journ.*

1 It has recently been suggested in a paper read at the ninth session of the All-India Oriental Conference (1937) that the grant was issued in the reign of Mādhavavarman I.

2 The Vākāṭaka kings Narendrasena and Hariṣeṇa are said to have conquered Malaya and Trikūṭa respectively (Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1700, 1712). But they appear to be considerably earlier than Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman II.

Andhra Hist. Res. Soc., X, p. 191). This is a happy suggestion ; but I could not examine his arguments in favour of the identification.

The plates record the grant of a village, the name of which seems to be Murotukaliki, to two Brāhmaṇas named Agniśarman and Indraśarman. In connection with the *śāsan-ājñā*, reference is made to the attention paid by the *viṣṇukuṇḍy-adhirāja* who may be Mādhavavarman II. If, however, it may be believed that Mādhavavarman II was a viceroy under his grandfather, this *adhirāja* should of course signify Mādhavavarman I.

The seal attached to the Ipur plates (set II), is circular and much worn. It is divided by a cross-line into two sections like the seal of the Ipur grant (No. 1). In the lower section the legend *Śrī-Mādhava(varmmā)* in two lines is very faintly visible, while the symbols in the upper section cannot be made out at all (*Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 338).

VI

VIKRAMENDRAVARMAN I (II ?).

The next king appears to have been Vikramendravarman I, son of Mādhavavarman I. No inscription of this king has been discovered. The most interesting point about the king is that, in the Chikkulla plates of his grandson, he is called *viṣṇukuṇḍi-vākāṭa-vaṃśa-dvay-ālaṃkṛta-janmā.* Vākāṭa is evidently the same as Vākāṭaka, which was the most glorious dynasty ruling in Northern Deccan in the 5th century of the Christian era. The relation of Vikramendravarman I with the Vākāṭakas is also referred to in the Ramatirtham plates of his son, where he is called *ubhaya-vaṃś-ālaṃkārabhūta* (who is the ornament of *both* the dynasties).

"The Vākāṭakas were the neighbours of the Kadambas and the Vākāṭaka kingdom extended up to the modern town of Kurnool on the banks of the Kṛishṇā. We know that the famous temple of Śrīśailam or Śrī-parvata is in the Kurnool district, and 'a story, as related in the *Sthala-māhātmya* of the place, says that the princess Chandrāvatī, a daughter of the Gupta king Chandragupta, conceived a passion for the God on the Śrīśaila hill and began offering every day a garland of jasmine (*mallikā*) flowers to him' (*Report on Epigraphy* for 1914-1915, Part II, 91).

"In fact, we shall see that this dynasty (*scil.* that of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins) had for its tutelary deity the God of Śrī-parvata and that the first (?) king of this dynasty Mādhavavarman married a Viṣṇukuṇḍin (? Vākāṭaka) princess. I think there can be no doubt that this princess was the

daughter or grand-daughter of queen Prabhāvatī," the daughter of king Candragupta II and wife of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena (see Dubreuil, *Anc. Hist. Dec.*, pp. 73-74). According to Vincent Smith (*J.R.A.S.*, 1914, p. 137) the mother of Viṣṇukuṇḍin Vikramendravarman I was the daughter of the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa who claimed to have conquered the countries of Andhra and Kaliṅga.

VII

INDRAVARMAN.

The son and successor of Vikramendravarman I was Indravarman, to whom belong the plates discovered at a place called Ramatirtham in the vicinity of Vizianagram. The king has been described as *parama-māheśvara* (staunch devotee of Maheśvara, *i. e.*, Śiva) and *aneka-caturddanta-samara-śata-sahasra-saṃghaṭṭa-vijayī*. The significance of the latter epithet may be understood from what has been already discussed above. It refers to the king's struggle with his eastern or north-eastern neighbours. In the Chikulla grant he is said to have made some *ghaṭikās*, which mean establishments (probably founded in most cases by kings) for holy and learned men. *Ghaṭikā* is mentioned in the Talgunda inscription of Śāntivarman and the Kasakudi grant of Nandivarman. It is the same as *Brahmapurī* of other records (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 26). In the same grant, Indravarman is also called *parameśvara* and *bhrūbhaṅga-kara-vinirdhūta-samagra-dāyāda*. It is suggested that the latter epithet refers to his success against the viceregal line of Trikūṭamalaya (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, X, p. 191).

The Ramatirtham plates (*Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 133) which were issued from the Puraṇisaṅgamavāsaka (which possibly means the camp at the confluence of the river Puraṇi) on the 7th *tithi* of the bright half of Jyaiṣṭha in the 27th year of king Indravarman record the grant of the village of Peruvāṭaka in Plakirāṣṭra as an *agrahāra* to a *taittirīyaka* Brāhmaṇa named Nagnaśarman who belonged to the Maṇḍira gotra.

The *agrahāra* was exempted from the burden of all taxes and the peasants assembled at Peruvāṭaka were ordered to give to the Brāhmaṇa the customary share of the produce of the *agrahāra* and to perform regularly all duties, such as conveying message, etc. The future owners of the country are also requested not to confiscate but to protect the *agrahāra*. The king himself was the exeuctor of the grant. The nature of the grant appears to support our view that king Indravarman granted the *agrahāra*, while leading an expedition against his eastern enemies. Pḷakirāṣṭra, as we have already noticed, is the present Vizianagram region. It is mentioned as Pḷakiviṣaya and Paḷakiviṣaya in the inscriptions of Calukya Viṣṇuvardhana I (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 317).

The seal attached to the Ramatirtham plates shows the faint figure of an advancing lion facing the proper right, with its left forepaw raised, neck erect, mouth wide open, and the tail raised above the back and ended in a loop.

VIKRAMENDRAVARMAN II (III ?).

Indravarman was succeeded by his eldest son, Vikramendravarman II. A copper-plate grant (*Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 193) of this king was discovered at Chikkulla in the Tuni sub-division of the Godavari district. It was issued on the 5th day of the 8th *māsapakṣa* of *grīṣma* (?) in the 10th year of the king, from the Lenduḷūravāsaka which has been identified by Ramayya with modern Deṇḍalūru near Ellore.

King Vikramendravarman II, who was a *paramamāheśvara* like his father, hereby dedicated a village called Regoṇṛaṇa to Somagireśvaranātha in honour of the matted-haired, three-eyed God, the Lord of the three worlds. Somagireśvaranātha appears to have been the name applied to a *liṅga* established in a temple at Lenduḷūra.

The village of Regoṇṛaṇa is said to have been situated to the south of the village of Rāvireva on the bank of the Kṛṣṇaveṇṇā (Krishṇa)[1] in Natṛpaṭi which appears to be the name of a district.

The seal of Vikramendravarman II attached to the Chikkulla plates "bears in relief on a slightly countersunk surface a well-executed lion, which stands to the proper right, raises the right forepaw, opens the mouth and apparently has a double tail" (*loc. cit.*). It, however, seems to me that the tail of the lion is not double as Kielhorn takes it to be, but is only raised above the back so as to end in a loop. Compare the figure of the lion on the Ramatirtham plates of Indravarman.

1 "Kṛishṇabeṇṇā, or more usually Kṛishṇaveṇṇā or Kṛishṇaverṇā, was the ancient epigraphic name of the Kṛishṇa, evidently taken from its confluence at Saṅgam-Māhulī, three miles east of Sātāra, with the Yeṇṇā or Veṇā, one of its most important feeders" (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p, 334 n.). See p. 61 *above*.

CHAPTER VI

THE EARLY PALLAVAS.

I

EARLY HISTORY OF THE KĀÑCĪ REGION.[1]

The earliest reference to Kāñcīpura (Conjeeverman in the Chingleput district of the Madras Presidency) seems to be that in the *Mahābhāṣya* (iv, 2 second *āhnika*) of the great grammarian Patañjali whose "date, B. C. 150, may now be relied upon" (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 140). Patañjali is now generally taken to have been a contemporary of the first Suṅga king, Puṣyamitra, who reigned from *circa* 185 to 149 B. C. according to Smith (*E. Hist. Ind.*, 4th ed., p. 208 ff.). The mention of Kāñcīpura in the *Mahābhāṣya* goes to show that Kāñcī became a place of importance as early as the beginning of the second century B. C. It is however not certain whether Kāñcī was of political or commercial importance in the age of the *Mahābhāṣya*.

If traditions recorded by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang are to be believed, Kāñcī rose to prominence even earlier than the age of the *Mahābhāṣya*. This Chinese pilgrim tells us that he noticed a *stūpa* about hundred feet high, built by king Aśoka in the city of Kāñcī (Beal, *Bud. Rec. West. World*, II, p. 230). In this connection we may also note the mention of Aśoka or Aśokavarman as one of the early Pallava kings in the mythical portion of the later Pallava inscriptions. Hultzsch appears to be right in taking this Aśoka or Aśokavarman as "a modification of the ancient Maurya king Aśoka." The claim of having this great Maurya emperor as predecessor is to be found also in the *Rājataraṅginī*, the traditional history of Kashmir (i, 102-06). Though the genealogy of Aśoka given in the

[1] The paper was originally published in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 149-67.

Kashmir chronicle does not tally with the Maurya genealogy found in the *Purāṇas*, the description of the Kashmir king named Aśoka "who had freed from sins and had embraced the doctrine of Jina (*i. e.*, Buddha), covered Śuṣkaletra and Vitastāra with numerous *stūpas*," clearly shows that he is no other than the great king of Pāṭaliputra. The inclusion of Maurya Aśoka in the traditional Pallava genealogy is therefore not impossible.

If however we take the find-spots of Aśokan inscriptions so far discovered in the far south as establishing the southernmost boundary of the Maurya empire in Aśoka's time, it would appear that the Kāñcī region lay outside that empire. Nevertheless, if traditions recorded in early Tamil works are to be believed, the Maurya frontier at the time of Candragupta, grandfather of Aśoka, possibly extended far to the south of Kāñcī. "We have seen that in the south the Maurya power, at one time, had probably penetrated as far as the Podiyil hill in the Tinnevelly district. In the time of Aśoka, the Maurya frontier had receded probably to the Pennar river near Nellore, as the Tamil kingdoms are referred to as *prachaṃta* or border states and are clearly distinguished from the imperial dominions (*vijita* or *rāja-visaya*) which stretched only as far south as the Chitaldrug district of Mysore" (Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd ed., p. 195). If then the Kāñcī region was once under the Mauryas, it may not be altogether impossible that owing to the commercial importance of its position Kāñcī attracted the notice of a Maurya emperor or a viceroy of the southernmost Maurya province, who assigned this Sanskritised name to a Dravidian original like Kacci (Kaccippeḍu) or Kañji.[1]

[1] *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 318, note. At the time of Aśoka, the southernmost Maurya province had its headquarters at Suvarṇagiri which has been identified by Hultzsch with Kanakagiri in the Nizam's dominions to the south of Maski (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. p. xxxviii).

The exhaustive list of countries, mentioned in Gautamī Balaśrī's inscription, over which Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi is said to have ruled, does not mention any district of the far south. This fact along with the conspicuous absence of inscriptions and coins of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi in the Andhra region possibly goes to show that the country was outside the kingdom of this Sātavāhana king. It must however be noticed that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi has been described in that famous Nasik Cave inscription as lord of the Vindhya, Ṛkṣavat, Pāriyātra, Sahya, Kṛṣṇagiri (Kanheri), possibly Śrīśaila (*maca-siri-ṭana* = *Martya-śrī* or *Śrī-stana?*), Mahendra, Malaya, Seṭagiri and Cakora mountains. Malaya and Mahendra, quite well-known in Sanskrit literature, have been identified respectively with the Western Ghats (to the south of the Nilgiri) and the Eastern Ghats. If there is in the list really the name of Śrīśaila, it is to be found in the Kurnool district of the Madras Presidency. Cakora has been mentioned along with Śrīśaila in the Purāṇas. It is therefore possible that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi claimed a sort of suzerainty over the whole of southern India. Since there is no mention of the Himālaya, the list of mountains in Gautamīputra's kingdom does not appear to be altogether conventional. Another important point in this connection is the king's epithet *ti-samuda-toya-pīta-vāhana* which says that his war-horses drank water from the three seas. We are to notice that the inscription does not refer to the conventional *catuḥ-samudra*, but only to *tri-samudra* (three seas) which evidently signifies the Western (Arabian) sea, Eastern sea (Bay of Bengal) and Southern sea (Indian Ocean). The traditional southern expedition of Maurya Candragupta and the southern expeditions of the Calukyas of Bādāmi and Kalyāṇī, of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mālkheḍ and later of Sivājī and Haidar Ali show that it was almost a custom with great Deccan kings to lead expeditions to the far south. Is it impossible that

Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi's vague claim of suzerainty over the whole of Southern India originated from such a southern expedition ?[1]

The Amaravati inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi (*Arch. Surv. S. Ind.*, I, p. 100 ; pl. LVI, No. 1), Amaravati inscription of *siri*-Sivamaka-Sada (*ibid*, p. 61, pl. LVI, No. 2), Chinna inscription of Gautamīputra Yajña Śātakarṇi (*Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 95), Kodavali inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Caḍa Sāta (*ibid*, XVIII, p. 316 ff.) and the Myakadoni inscription of Pulumāvi (*ibid*, XIV, p. 155) however clearly show that the successors of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi certainly ruled in the Andhra region. This southerly extension of the Sātavāhana power may have been due to the rise of the house of Caṣṭana who seems to have established himself at Ujjayinī and to have been a contemporary of the Greek geographer Ptolemy (*c.* 140 A.D.) and of the Sātavāhana king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi, son of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. We know from the Junagadh inscription (*ibid*, VIII, p. 44 ff.) that Caṣṭana's grandson Rudradāman (*c.* 130-150 A.D.), who for some time ruled conjointly with his grandfather,[2] was reigning over some of the countries that were formerly under the possession of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.

The occupation of Andhradeśa and the adjoining districts by the later Sātavāhanas is also proved by numismatic evidence. According to Rapson (*Catalogue*, p. lxxi) the Sātavāhana coins found in the Kistna-Godavari region " fall into two classes distinguished from each other both by their type and their fabric." In the district of the first fabric,

1 A Nasik inscription possibly refers to a southern expedition led by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi who seems to have once encamped at Vaijayantī Vaijayantī which was later the capital of the Cuṭu Śātakarṇis and after them of the Kadambas has been identified with modern Banavāsī in the North Kanara district of the Bombay Presidency (see *infra*).

2 Raychaudhuri, *op cit.*, p. 317 ff.

coins of the following five kings have been found (*ibid*, lxxii):

1. Vāsiṣṭhīputra śrī-Pulumāvi,
2. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi,
3. Vāsiṣṭhīputra śrī-Candra Sāti.
4. Gautamīputra śrī-Yajña Sātakarṇi, and
5. śrī-Rudra Sātakarṇi.

In the district of the second fabric are found coins struck by the following three kings (*ibid*, p. lxxiv):

1. śrī-Candra Sāti,
2. Gautamīputra śrī-Yajña Sātakarṇi, and
3. śrī-Rudra Sātakarṇi.

Some lead coins found in the Anantapur and Cuddapah districts have been taken by Rapson to have belonged to some feudatories of the Sātavāhana kings (*ibid*, pp. lxx-xi). This suggestion appears to be supported by the following facts. Firstly, in the Chitaldrug district has been found a coin of one Sadakaṇa (Sātakarṇi) Kaḷalāya Mahārathi who was most probably a feudatory of the great Sātavāhanas; secondly, the Myakadoni (Bellary district) inscription of Pulumāvi shows that the Bellary region was called the *janapada* (district) of Sātavāhanihāra, and that it was under the rule of a governor (*mahāsenāpati*) whose name was Skandanāga. This fact seems to show that the southern districts of the Sātavāhana kingdom were ruled by military chiefs.

From what has been said above, it is perfectly clear that the dominions of the later Sātavāhanas extended as far as the borders of the district round Kāñcī. We shall now consider the question whether Kāñcī could have formed a part of the Sātavāhana kingdom.

There is no epigraphic evidence to prove that the Sātavāhana kings ruled over Kāñcī; but certain lead coins with

"ship with two masts" on one side and the Ujjain symbol on the other have been discovered on the Coromandel coast between Madras and Cuddalore. "That they belong to the Andhra (Sātavahana) dynasty seems certain from the Ujjain symbol which forms their riverse type, and from such traces as remains of the coin-legend. On the solitary specimen on which these traces admit of any probable restoration the inscription appears to be intended for *Siri-Pu*[*lumā*]*visa* (No. 95, p. 22; pl. V)."[1] Of course, mere discovery of some coins of a certain dynasty in a certain area may not prove that that particular area was under the direct control of the rulers of that dynasty. But this distinct type of ship-coins found exclusively in the Coromandel coast possibly supports the view that at least the issuer (or issuers) of the ship-coins had some sort of political supremacy over the coastal region. But who ruled the coast-country during the time of the later Sātavāhanas who most probably issued the ship-coins?

According to some scholars, "The coast-region in which these coins are found was in the third century B.C. inhabited by the Colas; but before the middle of the second century A.D. it seems to have passed into the power of the Pallavas who were thus contemporary with the later Andhras (*i. e.*, Sātavāhanas)."[2] This view however can be proved to be unwarranted on the evidence of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* and the Geography of Ptolemy.

We may not expect to get the name of Kāñcīpura in the *Periplus* as this work does not attempt to give an exhaustive list of cities and towns of the countries about which it speaks. The Kāñcī region was possibly not a separate political unit in the age of this work (*c.* 80 A.D.). The *Periplus* says: "§ 59. From Komari (*mod.* Kumārikā) towards the south (actually toward NNE) this region extends to Kolkhi

1 Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. ixxxi-ii.

2 *Ibid*, p. ixxxii.

(Karkai on the Tāmraparṇī in the Tinnevelly district; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 469)......... ; and it belongs to the Pandian kingdom. Beyond Kolkhi there follows another district called the Coast country (= Coromandel or Coḷa-maṇḍala coast), which lies on a bay, and has a region inland called Argaru (= Uragapura = mod. Uṛaiyūr near Tanjore)...........§ 60. Among the market-towns of these countries and the harbours where the ships put in from Damirika and from the north, the most important are, in order as they lie, first Kamara, then Poduka, then Sopatma; in which there are ships of the country coasting along the shore as far as Damirika; and other very large made of single logs bound together called *Sangara*; but those which make the voyage to Khryse and to the Ganges are called *Kolandia* and are very large." We do not definitely know whether any of these three ports mentioned by the *Periplus* belonged to the district of Kāñcī, but the fact that the *Periplus* after referring to the Coast country refers to Masalia (=district round Masulipatam) possibly suggests that the borders of the Coast country touched, in the age of the Periplus, those of the district round Masulipatam. This suggestion, it should be noticed, is in accord with the tradition which says that " the Chola country (Choḷamaṇḍalam) was bounded on the north by the Pennar and on the south by the southern Vellaru river; or, in other words, it extended along the eastern coast from Nellore to Puddukottai, where it abutted on the Pāṇḍya territory" (Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 480).

In the Geography of Ptotemy (*c.* 140 A.D.) who gives a fairly exhaustive list of countries, cities and important places, we do not find the name of Kāñcī ; but the district of Kāñcī can be satisfactorily identified from Ptolemy's map of India. The order of the position of countries in the east coast has been thus given in Ptolemy's Geography, VII, i :

1. Country of the Pandiones (= Pāṇḍyas) with its

capital at Modoura (=Madurā) 125° 16°20′, ruled by Pandion (§89);

2. District of Batoi (§90) with its metropolis at Nisamma 125°10′ 10°30′ (§12);

3. Coast of the Soringoi (=Coḷas) with its capital at Orthoura 130° 16° 20′, ruled by Sôrnagos (§91);

4. Arouarnoi with its capital at Malanga 130° 13°, ruled by Basaronagos (§92); and

5. District of the Maisôloi (called Maisôlia in §15, and Masalia in the *Periplus*) with its metropolis at Pitundra 135° 18° (§93).

It is clear from the situation of the above countries that on the way from the district of Masulipatam to the Pāṇḍya country, *i. e.*, to the south of the former, lay first the country of Arouarnoi, then the coast of the Soringoi, and then Batoi. This "coast of the Soringoi" is evidently the same as the "Coast country" of the *Periplus* which seems to represent the Coḷa-maṇḍala of Sanskrit literature. Its capital Orthoura appears therefore to be the same as Argaru of the *Periplus* and Uṛaiyūr (=Uragapura) of the present day.[1] But what about this Arouarnoi which has not been mentioned in the *Periplus*, but has been placed between the Coḷa-maṇḍala and Masulipatam by Ptolemy? In this connection it is interesting to note what Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says about the countries of this coast. "The east coast region, however, beginning with the river Vellar flowing across the state of Pudukottah now and emptying

[1] It must be noticed that a city called Argarou 125° 15′ 11°20′ has been mentioned by Ptolemy (*Geog.*, VII, i, §11) as belonging to the Pāṇḍya country. It can however hardly be identical with Argaru (=Uragapura) of the *Periplus* which, as we have seen, places it in the Coast country, beyond the kingdom of Pandion. Ptolemy's Argarou in the Pāṇḍya country is evidently the same as Uragapura mentioned by Kālidāsa as the capital of the Pāṇḍya kings (*Raghu*, VI. 59-60). That Uragapura of these two Greek authors is different is also proved by the fact that while the *Periplus* has it as "a region inland called Argaru", Ptolemy's map places the city just on the sea-shore (Renou, *La Géographie de Ptolemée*, Paris, 1925, Plates).

itself into the Bay of Bengal which marked the orthodox southern boundary of the Choḷas, constituted the Choḷa-maṇḍalam which actually extended northwards therefrom to as far as the river South Pennar where began the division known as Aruvānāḍu which extended northwards along the coast almost as far as the Northern Pennar" (R. Gopalan, *Pallavas of Kanchi*, p. xi-ii). There can hardly be any doubt that this Aruvānāḍu between the northern and southern Pennars is the Arouarnoi of Ptolemy's Geography. This Arouarnoi is practically the same as the Kāñcī-maṇḍala, *i. e.*, the district round Kāñcī.[1] It must however be noticed that the capital of this district, at the time of Ptolemy, was at Malanga which appears from Ptolemy's map to have been far to the north of Kāñcī.

It now appears that the Coḷa-maṇḍala or the Cola coast which at the time of the *Periplus* was possibly bounded by the Pāṇḍya country in the south and the "Masuli district" in the north was divided into two kingdoms in the age of Ptolemy (*c.* 140 A.D.). What is more interesting is that at the time of the Greek geographer, the Coḷa-maṇḍala proper was being ruled by a king named Sôr-*nāga*, while Aruvānāḍu, the northern part of the former Cola kingdom, was under the rule of a king named Basaro-*nāga*. We cannot be definite whether these two names really represent Indian names like Sura-nāga (or Sūrya-nāga) and Vajra-nāga or Varṣa-nāga; but there can be no doubt that at Ptolemy's time the Cola kingdom as well as the district round Kāñcī was ruled by princes who belonged to the family of the Nāgas. The existence of the Nāgas in the Coromandel coast seems to be further supported by the existence of the

[1] "The surrounding territory was known as the Drāviḍa country, and also as the Kāñchī *maṇḍala* or province of Kāñchī, and as the Toṇḍa, Toṇdai, Toṇḍīra, Tuṇḍīra and Tuṇḍāka *maṇḍala*, *rāshṭra*, *vishaya*, or *nāḍ*. And Kānchī itself was sometimes called Tuṇḍīrapurai, as the capital of the territory under the latter name" (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 318).

city called Uaraga-pura in the Pāṇḍya country and another of the same name in the Cola country. Uraga, as we all know, is the same as Nāga. It is however difficult to ascertain whether the "inland region called Argaru (=Uragapura)" was being ruled by the Nāgas (=Uragas) in the age of the *Periplus* ; nevertheless the name supports a conjecture that in or before that period a place in the heart of the Cola country was under the Nāgas.[1]

In this connection we should also notice the Buddhist traditions of Ceylon and Siam which speak of a Nāga country on the coast near the "Diamond Sands," to the south of Dantapura, between the mouth of the Ganges and Ceylon (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, ed. 1924, pp. 611-12). This country has been called Majerika. We do not know whether Majerika is the same as Masulika (Masulipatam) or a district named after the Manjhira branch of the Godavari or it is Ptolemy's Arouarnoi where the Nāga king Basaronāga once ruled. But the traditions seem to support the existence of a Nāga country on the eastern coast. Much value of the traditions is however vitiated by the fact that the epochs to which the two traditions refer are irreconcilable. The Ceylonese tradition gives the date as B.C. 157, while the Siamese tradition gives A.D. 310-313. If we believe the latter tradition (and also in the fact that the tradition refers to the Nāgas of the Coromandel coast), the Pallavas would appear to have risen to prominence after A.D. 313. This however seems to be improbable.

Before the middle of the second century therefore not the Pallavas but the Nāgas were ruling the coast country.

As scholars generally take Ptolemy's Siriptolemaios (siri-Pulumāvi), ruler of Baithána (Paiṭhan in the Aurang-

1 It may alternatively be suggested that Uragapura is really a Sanskritised form of the Tamil name Uṛaiyūr (literary, "city of greatness"?). We must however notice that as early as the beginning of the Christian era the locality (or localities) was known to foreigners not as Uṛaiyūr, but as Uragapura (*cf.* Argaru).

abad district) to be the same as Vāsiṣṭhīputra śrī-Pulumāvi, son of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, we see that Basaro-nāga, ruler of the Kāñcī region, and Sôr-nāga, ruler of the Coḷa-maṇḍala, reigned contemporaneously with this Sātavāhana king who possibly was the first to establish Sātavāhana power in the Andhra country (*Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd ed., p. 318).[1] It may not be altogether impossible that the successors of Basaro-nāga acknowledged the suzerainty of the powerful successors of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi, such as the great Gautamīputra Yajña Śātakarṇi. It should be noticed here that Pulumāvi of the ship-coins appears to be the same as the king of the Myakadoni inscription, who was probably a successor of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi and was the last king of the direct Sātavahāna line.

[1] Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi has been called "lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha" in the Nasik inscription of year 19. In line 12 of the Junagadh inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 44 ff.) the Śaka king Rudradāman (*c.* 130-150 A.D.) mentions his Sātavāhana contemporary (Pulumāvi?) as "Śātakarṇi, lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha." The epithet however seems to have nothing to do with the inclusion of Andhradeśa in the Sātavāhana Kingdom (see p. 1 *above*).

II

Rise of the Pallavas[1]

Scholars are now generally of opinion that the Pallavas were not indigenous to the Kāñcī region. Thus Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says, "The Pallavas seem nevertheless to have been foreign to the locality as far as our evidence takes us at present" (*op. cit.*, p. x). The question is now: When did the Pallavas attain political supremacy in the Kāñcī region ?

We have already seen that about the middle of the second century A.D., when Ptolemy is known to have written his Geography, the above region was being ruled by the Nāgas. The Pallavas therefore did not rule as a recognised political power in the same locality before the middle of the second century of the Christian era. They are however believed to have risen to prominence certainly before the middle of the fourth century A.D. which is the time of Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription. This record, as we all know, mentions a certain Kāñceyaka Viṣṇugopa with whom the Gupta king (*c.* 330-75 A.D.) came into conflict during his South Indian compaign. This "Viṣṇugopa, ruler of Kāñcī" has been unanimously taken to have belonged to the Pallava family.

To about the same period should be assigned the Mayidavolu (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 84) and Hirahadagalli (*ibid*, I, p. 2) grants of the Pallava ruler Śivaskandavarman, and the British Museum grant (*ibid*, VIII, p. 143) dated in the reign of a Pallava king named *Vijaya*-Skandavarman. These grants are written in Prakrit and are unanimously taken to be the earliest available epigraphic records of the Pallavas.

[1] The paper was originally published in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, August, 1935, pp. 157-64.

There is however difference of opinion regarding the date of these epigraphs. But, as we shall show in the next section, they appear to belong to the first half of the fourth century A.D. The Pallavas therefore seem to have attained political supremacy in the Kāñcī region after the middle of the second but before the beginning of the fourth century of the Christian era. Now, the next question would be: Who were the Pallavas, and how did they succeed in obtaining mastery over the Kāñcī region from the hands of the Nāgas?

It is almost certain that the Pallavas originally were executive officers under the Sātavāhana kings.[1] They were most probably in charge of the government of districts with titles like Mahārathi and Mahāsenāpati, *i.e.*, governor. There is inscriptional evidence to prove that the Sātavāhana kings took their officers from the families of the Guptas and Nāgas. A Nasik inscription mentions an officer named Śiva-gupta, and the Karle inscriptions refer to Gupta and Śivaskanda-Gupta (*Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd ed., p. 332). We have already seen that a Nāga chief named Skanda-nāga was ruling the Bellary district during the reign of Pulumāvi who was possibly the last Sātavāhana king of the main line. The Pallavas may have been officers like the Guptas and Nāgas.

But, who were the Pallavas?[2] Were they identical with the people called Pahlava or Palhava in inscriptions and literature? Some scholars are in favour of the identification. Their

[1] Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, p. xv; Sewell, *List.* s. v., c. 225 A.D.

[2] See H. Krishnasastri, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 246. "The origin of the Pallavas has been obscure. A suggestion has been thrown out by Mr. Venkayya that they may have been connected with the Pahlavas, mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* and there classified as foreigners outside the pale of Aryan society (*Arch. Surv. Rep.* for 1916-17, p. 217 f.). It is true that here the Pallavas are so classed with the Sakas, Yavanas and other foreign tribes; nevertheless the possibility of their being a class that originated from an intermingling of the Brāhmaṇas with the indigenous Dravidian tribes is not altogether precluded. This presumption is confirmed partly by a

arguments may be summed up as follows. The Palhavas, *i.e.*, the Parthians, are known from inscriptions and coins to have been ruling in North-Western India in the beginning of the Christian era. At the time of the *Periplus*, "Parthian princes [who] were constantly driving each other out," were occupying the valley of the Indus. This people possibly pushed a little down to the south when they came into conflict with the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi who is called "subduer of the Śakas, Yavanas and the Palhavas." Indeed, from the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman we learn that a Pahlava governor named Suviśākha, son of Kulaipa, was ruling the district of Ānarta[1] and Surāṣṭra under that great Śaka king. If, as it seems to be, the territory of the Palhavas lay not far off from the Sātavāhana kingdom, if they really came into conflict with the Sātavāhanas at the time of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, if the Palhavas accepted offices in the government of neighbouring kings, and if the Sātavāhana government accepted services of persons belonging to the neighbouring tribes, there is nothing impossible in the suggestion that the Palhavas were employed by the Sātavāhana kings and eventually carved out a principality in the south of the Sātavāhana kingdom after the decline of the latter.

curious statement made in the Rāyakoṭa copper plates (*above*, Vol. V, p. 52) that Aśvatthāman, the Brāhmaṇa founder of the race, married a Nāga woman and had by her a son called Skandaśishya. Other copper-plates (*e. g.*, *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 353, vv. 16 & 17) which relate a similar story mention in the name of Skandaśishya the name of the eponymous king Pallava, after whom the family came to be called Pallava. Hence it appears almost probable that the Pallavas like the Kadambas of Banavāsī (*Dy. Kan. Dist.*, p. 286 and fn. 2), the Noḷambas of Mysore (Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 55), the Matsyas of Oḍḍavādi (Oḍḍādi in the Vizagapatam district) and other similar dynasties were the products of Brāhmaṇa inter-connections with the Dravidian races, as the stories related of their origin indicate. The Pallavas are however referred to in an early Kadamba record of the 6th century A. D. (Talgunda inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 31 ff., verse 11 ?) as Kshatriyas, and their earliest sovereigns are stated to have performed Vedic sacrifices like the Aryan kings of old."

1 Ānarta is the district round modern Dvārakā. In the *Mahābhārata* (XIV, 52, 59; 53) the same place has been referred to both as Ānartapurī and Dvārakā.

We however think that there are very strong grounds against the identification of the Pallavas with the people called Palhava (*i.e.*, the Parthians). If the people who were called Palhava or Pahlava at the time of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Rudradāman, that is to say, during the first half of the second century A.D., is the same as the Pallavas whom we find stationed at Kāñcī at about the end of the third century, how are we to explain the fact that the latter have never been called Palhava either in the records of their own or in the records and works that refer to them? It is improbable that within the short period of about 150 years a tribe had utterly forgotten its original name, so much so that not even for once did its members use that name in the whole course of their history, though Indian literature in all succeeding ages has recognised a tribe named Palhava, sometimes even side by side with Pallava.

Another important point in this connection is that, in the Hirahadagalli grant, the earliest known Pallava king Śivaskandavarman, who appears to have ruled in the first quarter of the fourth century A.D., is reported to have performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice. There is no evidence that kings belonging to foreign dynasties or tribes like the Śaka, Kuṣāṇa, Gurjara, Hūṇa and others ever performed the Horse-sacrifice, even when they were Hinduised. It seems highly improbable that a foreigner would be very favourable to the obnoxious practices followed during the course of this sacrifice. Unless an immigrant tribe hopelessly forgets itself and imbibes utter orthodoxy of Hinduism, it seems impossible for its members to be able to expose their wives to such indelicate practices as are necessary in performing the Horse-sacrifice.[1] The performance of this out-and-out Brahmanical sacrifice by the

[1] I am indebted for this suggestion to Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri. For details about the Aśvamedha sacrifice, see *Sukla-Yajurveda*, XXII-XXV, with Mahīdhara's commentary thereon. For the indelicate portion, see *ibid*, XXIII,

earliest known Pallava king seems to go against the theory of foreign origin of the Pallavas.

The next important point is that the family of the Pallavas is known even from the earliest record to have belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra.[1] This Bhāradvāja gotra of the Pallavas can hardly be imitated from the gotra of any earlier dynasty that ruled in the Deccan. The Sātavāhanas of the main line, whose records the early Pallavas imitated in drawing theirs, did never specifically mention their own gotra. The Viṇhukaḍa Cuṭu-Śātakarṇis however called themselves Mānavya-gotra-Hārīti-putra. This title was imitated by the Kadambas who succeeded the Cuṭu-Śātakarṇis in the Kuntala country. The Calukyas who appear to have originally been provincial governors under the early Kadambas (or probably under the Vākāṭakas), got the title in their turn along with the sovereignty of the Kanarese country. Since the Pallavas do not use metronymics like their predecessors and since their Bhāradvāja gotra cannot be reasonably proved to have been imitated from any preceding ruling dynasty of the Deccan, it seems possible that they were originally Brahmanical Hindus of the Bhāradvāja gotra and therefore belonged to Northern India.[2]

18-25. *Mantra* to be uttered by the queen of the performer of this sacrifice: *ambe = 'mbike = 'mbālike na mā nyati kaś — cana, śasasty = aśvakaḥ subhadrikāṃ kāmpila-vāsinīṃ.* Mahīdhara's commentary: *mad = agamane = 'śvo = 'nyām = ādāya śayisyata = iti mayā gamyate.* After pronouncing another *mantra*, the queen sits (according to Mahīdhara, lies down) beside the sacrificial horse. Queen: *tā ubhau caturaḥ pādaḥ saṃprasārayāva*; Adhvaryu: *svarge loke prorṇuvāthām.* After the Adhvaryu covers the bodies of the Queen and the horse with a sheet of cloth, the queen says: *vṛṣā vājī retodhā reto dadhātu,* and then according to Mahīdhara: *mahiṣī svayam = ev = āśva śiśnam = ākṛṣya sva-yonau sthāpayati.* See *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, iv, 2, and *above*.

[1] According to K. P. Jayaswal (*History of India*, p. 182), " The Pallavas were a branch of the Vākāṭakas." The theory however is obviously untenable, as the former are known to have belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra, while the latter belonged to the Viṣṇuvṛddha gotra.

[2] The Purāṇic genealogy of the Pallavas, based on the name of their *gotrarṣi*, does not appear to have been imitated. See Fleet, *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii. p. 312, note :

Paṇini (IV. i. 117) seems to say that the Śuṅgas belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra. From the *Purāṇas* we know that the Śuṅgas succeeded the Mauryas on the throne of Magadha, and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* informs us that a secondary capital of the Śuṅgas was at Vidiśā (mod. Besnagar near Bhilsa in the Jubbalpure district). Is it altogether impossible that the Pallavas really were a branch of the Śuṅgas of Vidiśā, who gradually pushed to the south, took services under the Sātavāhanas and eventually carved out a principality in the Kāñcī region?[1] Whatever the value of this suggestion may be, the fact that the Pallavas never try to connect themselves with the solar and lunar dynasties, famous in Indian legends, at least seems to show that they belonged originally to a Brāhmaṇa family of Northern India. If a Brāhmaṇa family rises to royal dignity, it cannot quite naturally look back for past glory to the Sūrya and Candra *vaṃśas* which were Kṣatriya dynasties. They can however claim connection with Bhāradvāja Droṇa, the great epic king of Northern Pañcāla, who was a Brāhmaṇa by birth, but took the profession of the Kṣatriyas. *Cf.* the case of the Sena kings of Bengal, who refer to themselves in their inscriptions as *Brahma-kṣatriya*.

" The Purāṇic genealogy of the Rāshṭrakūṭas makes its first appearance in the Sāṅglī grant (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 247). The pretended historical genealogy of the Western Gaṅgas may have been concocted a little earlier, but was more probably devised about A. D. 950 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 162). The Cola Purāṇic genealogy is apparently first met with in the *Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi* (*Ind. Ant*, Vol. XIX, p. 329) which was composed in the reign of the Eastern Calukya king Kulottuṅga Choladeva I, A.D. 1063-1112. And the Purāṇic genealogy of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga-nagara is first presented in a record of A.D. 1118-19 (*Id.*, Vol XVIII, p. 165). The Purāṇic genealogy of the Pallavas ......is the earliest such pedigree that has as yet come to light. And possibly the discovery of it in some ancient record set the later fashion which became so general."

[1] It may be noted that the early Gaṅgas claimed to have belonged to the Kāṇvāyaṇa gotra. Thus they claim connection with the famous Kāṇvāyaṇa royal line that succeeded the Śuṅgas. We however do not know whether the claim could be an imitation, nor do we know whether the family-name Gaṅga has anything to do with the famous North Indian river called Gaṅgā.

But, how did the Pallavas occupy the Kāñcī region which was once under the Nāgas? This question is difficult to answer, as we know nothing definitely about the Pallava kings who ruled before Śivaskandavarman, or his father whose name is as yet unknown.[1] Indeed, later Pallava inscriptions, such as the Kasakudi plates of Nandivarma-Pallavamalla (*S. Ind. Ins.*, II, p. 342), the Velurpalaiyam plates of Nandivarman III (*ibid*, p. 508) and the Vayalur pillar inscription of Rājasiṃha (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 150), have mentioned the names of some early Pallava kings otherwise unknown and have traced the Pallava pedigree from Lord Brahman, through his descendants, Aṅgiras, Bṛhaspati, Śaṃyu, Bharadvāja, Droṇa, Aśvatthāman, Pallava and Aśoka (or Aśokavarman). There can be no question about the unhistoricity of this part of the genealogy. It is obviously fabricated on the basis of the name of the *gotrarṣi* of the Pallava family. We know that the Pallavas belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra which has the pravaras, Bhāradvāja, Āṅgirasa and Bārhaspatya. Pallava is evidently the eponym, while Aśokavarman "can scarcely be considered a historical person, but appears to be a modification of the ancient Maurya king Aśoka."

It must be noted that the order and form of names mentioned after Aśokavarman in the traditional part of the Pallava genealogy are not uniform in the different inscriptions. Hultzsch therefore remarked on this part of the Kasakudi grant (*S. Ind. Ins.*, II, p. 343), "It must rather be concluded that, at the time of Nandivarman, nothing was known of the predecessors of Siṃhavishṇu but the names of some of them, and that the order of their

1 According to Sewell (*List*, p. 17), "Bappa," *i. e.*, the father of Śivaskandavarman, was a name assumed by Jayavarman of the Kondamudi grant. This theory is untenable in view of the fact that Jayavarman belonged to the Bṛhatphalāyana gotra, but the Pallavas are known to have belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra. See my note in *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VIII, p. 105; and *above*, p. 41.

succession and their relation to each other and to the subsequent line of Siṃhavishṇu, were then entirely forgotten." This part of the Pallava genealogy may be compared with the mythical genealogy of the Calukyas about which Fleet says, "For the above account (*scil.* Calukya genealogy before Pulikeśin I), a certain amount of foundation may be derived from the fact that from the time of Pulikeśin II onwards, the Western Chālukyas were constantly at war with the Pallavas, who were their most powerful and inveterate foes, coupled with a tradition of the later Kadambas that the founder of the Kadamba family was a certain Trinetra or Trilochana. But in other respects, the account is a *farrago* of vague legends and Purāṇic myths of no authority" (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii. pp. 341-42). It is therefore difficult to believe that the traditional portion of the Pallava genealogy is much useful for the purpose of authentic history. Nevertheless it is tempting to make a few suggestions.

(*i*) Verse 6 of the Valurpalaiyam inscription says that Vīrakūrca, son of Cūtapallava, obtained the insignia of royalty along with the hand of a Nāga princess (*cf. phanīndra-sutayā sah=āgranīd=rāja-cihnam=akhilam*). We have seen above that the Nāgas were ruling over the Kāñcī region before the rise of the Pallavas in that locality ; it is therefore not impossible that Vīrakūrca married the heiress of the last Nāga king of Malanga and thus became the first Pallava king of the district round Kāñcī.[1] Some very late inscriptions (of about the 11th century) mention a king named Trilocana as the earliest illustrious ancestor of

[1] Many scholars think that the Cuṭu-Śātakarṇis of Kuntala were Nāgas and that the father-in-law of Pallava Vīrakūrca belonged to the family of these Cuṭu-Nāgas. Since we have tried to prove Nāga occupation of the Kāñcī region just before the rise of the Pallavas, the above suggestion seems to be more plausible. Jayaswal (*op. cit.*, p. 189) is inclined to identify the Nāga relations of the Pallavas with the Bhāraśivas (possibly Nāgas) of Central India. His arguments however are not convincing.

the Pallavas. He is also called Trinetra, Trinayana, Mukkaṇṭi-Pallava and Mukkaṇṭi-Kāḍuvetti (Butterworth, *Nellore Inscriptions*, I, p. 389, II, p. 671 ; *cf. Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 349). He is described as having, like Śiva, a third eye on the forehead and is believed by some scholars to have been a historical person who was the founder of the Telugu-Pallavas and who ruled over some part of the Telugu country ((*An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1916, p. 138; Iyenger, *History of the Tamils*, pp. 364, 384). The historicity of this Trilocana-Pallava is impossible in view of the facts that a similar Trilocana is said to have been the progenitor of the Kadambas in some Kadamba inscriptions of about the same period (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 236) and that all early Pallava records deny the possibility of the existence of any such early king named Trilocana-Pallava. Many scholars have now discarded this Trilocana as purely mythical. "The name Trilocana seems to have passed from the Kadamba inscriptions of the west to the Pallava inscriptions of the east" (Moraes, *Kadamba-kula*, p. 8, note).

(*ii*) The name of the father of Vīrakūrca who was possibly the first king of the family was Cūta-Pallava. May Pallava, the name of the dynasty, have anything to do with the second syllable of the name of the first Pallava king's father?[1]

[1] Is the name Cūta-pallava (lit. twig of the mango tree) eponymical like the name Pallava? I have elsewhere suggested (*Ind. Cult.*, IV, p. 118 ff; also *below*) that the names *Kadamba* and *Pallava* are possibly of totemistic origin. Tree-names, like Kadamba, of tribes and families, many of which are totemistic, are quite common in India. When, on the other hand, we find that a sept of the Muṇḍas is called Chirko *i.e.*, mushroom (Risely, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, II, 1892, p 103) and another is called Sewar, *i e.*, moss (p. 108) and that a totemistic section of the Rautiās is called Khariā, *i.e.*, blade of grass (p. 123), the possibility of Pallava, *i.e.*, twig, having originally a totemistic significance in connection with the Pallavas may not appear altogether impossible. Riseley (p. 47) mentions Pallab as a subcaste of the Goālās of Bengal. This is evidently a corruption of the Sanskrit word *vallabha* meaning "cow-herd."

(*iii*) A successor of Vīrakūrca was Skandaśiṣya who came into conflict with a king named Satyasena (verse 7). Was this Satyasena in any way connected with the Pālakkaka Ugrasena of the Allahabad pillar inscription, who possibly ruled at Palakkaḍa (sometimes a seat of Pallava government) in the Nellore region?

(*iv*) Another successor of Vīrakūrca was Kumāraviṣṇu (verse 8) who is credited with the seizure of Kāñcī (*gṛhīta-kāñcīnagara*). Does it mean that the Pallavas first ruled at Malanga, the Nāga capital, which possibly lay somewhere to the north of Kāñcī and that Kumāraviṣṇu was the first Pallava king to have his capital at Kāñcī? Had the Colas, then, become again master of their country and occupied the Nāga territory as far as the city of Kāñcī? The mention of Kumāraviṣṇu and Buddhavarman together, however, makes it very probable that this Kumāraviṣṇu is to be identified with Kumāraviṣṇu I of the Chendalur grant.[1]

(*v*) A successor of Kumāraviṣṇu was Buddhavarman, who, is called submarine fire to the sea that was the Cola army (*cola-sainy-ārṇava-vāḍav-āgni*). Does it signify the continuation of the war with the Colas, which we have supposed to have begun in the reign of Kumāraviṣṇu?

[1] If this identification be accepted, the other suggestion is improbable. Kāñcī became the capital of the Pallavas long before the time of Kumāraviṣṇu I. In that case *gṛhīta-kāñcīnagara* would possibly mean recovering Kāñcī from the temporary occupation of the Colas.

III

DATE OF ŚIVASKANDAVARMAN[1]

The Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli grants of Śivaskandavarman and the British Museum grant dated in the reign of king *vijaya*-Skandavarman are the earliest available records of the Pallavas. They are written in Prakrit, while the later epigraphs of the early Pallavas are in Sanskrit. We have already noticed that there is a controversy over the date of these records and, therefore, of the Pallava rulers named Śivaskandavarman and Skandavarman to whom they belong. Fleet thought that these kings should be placed after the Pallava king Viṣṇugopa mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 319). According to this scholar therefore the two Pallava kings reigned about the last quarter of the 4th century A.D. Prof. Durbeuil (*Anc. His. Dec.*, p. 70), on the other hand, assigns Śivaskandavarman, whom he identifies with *vijaya*-Skandavarman, to about A.D. 250-75, *i.e.*, about the third quarter of the third century. It is now generally believed that the king or kings mentioned in the Prakrit grants of the Pallavas ruled before the time of Viṣṇugopa, ruler of Kāñcī, mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription (Krishnasastri, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 243; Jayaswal, *History of India*, p. 181). Here I am going to show that Śivaskandavarman probably reigned in the first quarter of the 4th century and that *vijaya*-Skandavarman of the British Museum grant was possibly a different king who seems to have reigned a little later than Śivaskandavarman.

Ptolemy who wrote his geography about A.D. 140, mentions (VII, i, §63 and §82) Tiastênes (=Caṣṭana),

[1] My paper on the date of Pallava Śivaskandavarman was first published in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, p. 792 ff.; the question was previously discussed in my paper, *Date of Śālaṅkāyana Devavarman*, in *Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 498 ff.

ruler of Ozênê (Ujjayinī), and Siriptolemaios (=siri-Pulumāyi or °māvi), ruler of Baithána (Paiṭhan in the Aurangabad district), as his contemporaries. The Andau inscriptions, issued in the joint-reign of Caṣṭana and his grandson Rudradāman, are dated in the year 52 which must be referred to the Śaka era and would correspond to A.D. 130 (Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd ed., p. 307 ff). Caṣṭana's contemporary Pulumāvi who has been identified with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī-Pulumāvi, son of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (*ibid*, p. 313), must also have ruled about the same time.

According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, which is the only work that gives a fuller list of the Sātavāhana kings and seems therefore to be more authentic as regards Sātavāhana chronology than the other *Purāṇas*, the following Sātavāhana kings ruled after Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi (see Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. lxvii) :

1.	Śivaśrī [Sātakarṇi]	... 7 years.
2.	Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi	... 7 years.
3.	Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi	... 29 years.[1]
4.	Vijaya	... 6 years.
5.	Caṇḍaśrī [Sātakarṇi]	... 10 years.[2]
		59 years.
6.	Pulomā[vi]	... 7 years.[3]
		66 years.

[1] The real name of this king is Yajña (not Yajñaśrī) Sātakarṇi (see my note in *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1934, p 560). He is called *siri-Yaña-Sātakaṇī* in inscriptions and coins, and *siri* is no doubt an honorific. The Chinna inscription is dated in his twenty-seventh year (*Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 95). The Purāṇic tradition ascribing a reign-period of twenty-nine years to him therefore seems to be true.

[2] The real name of the Purāṇic Caṇḍaśrī appears to have been Caṇḍa (or Candra) Sātakarṇi. He is never called Candraśrī or Caṇḍraśrī in inscriptions and coins.

[3] The Myakadoni inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 153) of Pulumāvi is dated in his eighth regnal year. He therefore appears to have ruled for more than seven years.

The only inscription of Pulomā or Pulumāvi, the last king of the list, has been discovered at Myakadoni in the Bellary district (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 153). We therefore cannot be definite as regards his rule over Andhradeśa proper. But the Amaravati inscriptions of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi and Sivamaka Sada (=Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi?), the Chinna (Kistna district) inscription of Yajña Sātakarṇi and the Kodavali (Godavari district) inscription of Caḍa Sāta or Sāti (Caṇḍaśrī or Candraśrī Sātakarṇi) leave no doubt that at least the Sātavāhana kings of the list, who ruled before Pulumāvi of the Myakadoni grant, were rulers of the Andhra country (*Arch. Surv. S. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 61 and 100; *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 95; XVIII, p. 316). As Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi, son of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, is known to have ruled in the second quarter of the second century, it appears that the Andhra country was under the Sātavāhana yoke at least up to the beginning of the third century A.D.

According to Krishnasastri (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 318) the second year of Caḍa Sāti is equivalent to A.D. 210. We may therefore arrange approximately the chronology of the above kings as follows :

1.	Śivaśrī Śātakarṇi	... *circa* A.D. 160-166.
2.	Śivaskanda Śātakarṇi	... *circa* A.D. 167-173.
3.	Yajña(śrī) Śātakarṇi	... *circa* A.D. 174-202.
4.	Vijaya	... *circa* A.D. 203-208.
5.	Caṇḍa(śrī) Śātakarṇi	... *circa* A.D. 209-218.

According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi ruled for twenty-eight years. He therefore seems to have ruled from about A.D. 132 to 159.[1] This date,

[1] From a different point of view, Rapson has also come to practically the same conclusion. The last known date of Nahapāna, the records of whose reign, according to many scholars, are dated in the Śaka era, is Śaka 46=124 A.D.; his reign could not have extended much beyond that date. Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi's success over Nahapāna almost certainly took place in the eighteenth year of his reign (*cf.* Nasik Ins.; *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 71; Karle Ins.; *ibid*, VII, p. 64). The

though approximate, corroborates the fact that Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī-Pulumāvi was a contemporary of the Greek geographer Ptolemy who wrote his book about 140 A.D., and of the Śaka ruler Caṣṭana who is known to have reigned in A.D. 130.

The Ikṣvākus who succeeded the Sātavāhanas in the rule of the Kistna-Guntur region (*i.e.*, the Andhra country)[1] must therefore have risen to prominence not before the time of Caṇḍa (śrī) Śātakarṇi. The sovereignty of the Ikṣvākus over Andhradeśa thus appears to have begun from about the end of the first quarter of the third century A.D. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāṃtamūla I, the first known Ikṣvāku king, should be placed after the time of Caṇḍa(śrī). He could not have been a feudatory of the Sātavāhanas, as he is said to be a performer of the Aśvamedha and Vājapeya sacrifices. We have already seen that according to the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (V, 1. 1. 13),[2] the performance of the Vājapeya bestows on the performer a superior kind of kingship called *sāmrājya*, while Kieth has rightly pointed out that the Aśvamedha "is an old and famous rite, which kings alone can bring to increase their realms" (*Rel. Phil. Ved. Upaniṣ.*, p. 343). It is perfectly clear from statements contained in the *Baudhāyana-Śrauta-sūtra* (XV, 1), *Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra* (XX, i, 1, quoted in

eighteenth year of Gautamīputra is therefore A.D. 124 or 124 + x. Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi thus seems to have ascended the throne in A.D. 106 or 106 + x. The latest inscriptional date of this king is year 24, which would correspond to A.D. 130 or 130 + x. His son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi appears to have lost much of his territories to the Śaka ruler Rudradāman before Pulumāvi's 19th regnal year and before Śaka 52 (A.D. 150), which is the date of Rudradāman's Junagadh inscription. According to Rapson therefore the accession of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi took place in about A.D. (150—19 =) 131. See Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. xxvi-ii, xxx, xxxvi-viii. The chronology we have proposed here would place Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi approximately in A.D. 132-159 and Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, who seems to have ruled for about 24 years, in A.D. 107-131.

[1] The Ikṣvāku records have been discovered at Jaggayyapeta in the Nandigram-taluka of the Kistna district (*Ind. Ant.*, XI, p. 257) and at Nagarjunikonda in the Palnād taluka of the Guntur district (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 1 ff.; XXI, p. 61 ff.).

[2] *Cf. rājā vai rājasūyen = eṣṭvā bhavati, samrāḍ = vājapeyen = āvaraṃ hi rājyaṃ paraṃ sāmrājyaṃ kāmayeta vai rājā saṃrāḍ = bhavituṃ*, etc.

Śabdakalpadruma-Pariśiṣṭa, s. v.) and the *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* (III, viii, 9, 4; V, iv, 12, 3) that a feudatory ruler could never perform the Aśvamedha sacrifice.[1] The Horse-sacrifice celebrated by Cāmtamūla I, therefore, appears to suggest his success against his Sātavāhana overlords.

We do not know for how many years the Ikṣvāku king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāmtamūla I ruled over the Andhra country. It is however known from the Jaggayyapeta records that his son, Virapurisadata, reigned at least up to his twentieth year, while according to the Kottampalugu record, Ehuvula Cāmtamūla II, successor of Virapurisadata and the last known king of the dynasty, ruled at least up to his eleventh year. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that these three Ikṣvāku kings together ruled for about more than half a century. The end of the reign of Cāmtamūla II thus appears to have fallen in the fourth quarter of the third century A.D.

According to the evidence of the Mayidavolu grant, dated in the reign of Sivaskandavarman's father, Andhrāpatha (*i.e.*, the Andhra country) with its headquarters at Dhamñakaḍa (Dhānyakaṭaka) passed from the Ikṣvākus to the possession of the Pallavas. Pallava Sivaskandavarman, who was like Cāmtamūla I a performer of the great Vājapeya and Aśvamedha sacrifices,[2] was preceded in the suzerainty of Andhrāpatha at least by his father who must have ruled the country after Ehuvula Cāmtamūla II. Sivaskandavarman therefore can hardly be placed earlier than A.D. 300. His title [Dharma-] *Mahārājādhirāja*, which, in North India, the Guptas imitated from the Kuṣāṇas at the beginning of the fourth century also points to this direction. This view, moreover, can be confirmed by an altogether different line of argument.

[1] See Kieth, *Black Yajus*, pp. cxxii-iv; and my notes in *Ind. Cult*, I, p. 311, II, p. 789, III, p. 376, IV, p. 272. See moreover the Appendix where in the whole question has been discussed.

[2] The Aśvamedha performed by Śivaskandavarman seems to suggest **his success against the Ikṣvākus and other neighbouring powers.**

There is some linguistic difference between the grants of Śivaskandavarman and the records of the Ikṣvāku kings. Like the Sātavāhana grants and other early Prakrit inscriptions, the Ikṣvāku records (excepting a record of the last known King; *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 62) express compound-consonants by single letters. The Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli grants of Śivaskandavarman, on the other hand, express them, in many cases, by two letters. Though the grants of Śivaskandavarman are in Prakrit, the legend on the seals of both the grants are written in Sanskrit. The Hirahadagalli grant, moreover, ends in a *maṅgala* which is also written in Sanskrit. This linguistic difference between the epigraphs of the known Ikṣvāku kings and those of Śivaskandavarman (one of whose grants is dated in the reign of his father) clearly points to the fact that there was an interval between the reign of the former and that of the latter. Consequently, Śivaskandavarman could not have ruled much earlier than the beginning of the fourth century A.D. He cannot however be placed later than Kāñceyaka Viṣṇugopa who came into conflict with Samudragupta about the middle of that century. We have shown that Pallava Śivaskandavarman ruled earlier than Sālaṅkāyana Devavarman who was a predecessor of Sālaṅkāyana Hastivarman, the Vaiṅgeyaka contemporary of Samudragupta (see *above*, *Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 493 ff.; also *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 212 and *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, p. 37). He therefore appears to have reigned about the first quarter of the fourth century.

We have already shown that the word *vijaya*, in names like *vijaya*-Skandavarman, is not an integral part of the name, but is a simple honorific.[1] The name of the Pallava king mentioned in the British Museum grant therefore is Skandavarman. Some scholars think that the word *śiva* in the name of *Śiva*-skandavarman, is also an honorific

[1] *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 208; also *above*.

like *vijaya* in the other names and that the Pallava prince *śiva*-Skandavarman of the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli grants is identical with king *vijaya*-Skandavarman of the British Museum grant. The absence of any king named Śivaskandavarman and the existence of many Skandavarmans in the traditional list of early Pallava kings, and also the use of the word *śiva*, in the Kadamba inscriptions, as an honorific in names like *vijaya-śiva*-Māndhātṛvarman, *vijaya-śiva*-Mṛgeśavarman and *vijaya-śiva*-Kṛṣṇavarman (II), may be taken as proofs in support of this theory. It must however be noticed that there is not even a single instance where the word *śiva* is singly used as an honorific. It may be argued that *śiva* in the names of Śivaskandanāgaśrī of the Banavasi inscription (Lüders, List, No. 1124) and Śivaskandavarman of the Malavalli inscription (*ibid*, No. 1196) is only an honorific compounded with the names. These persons belonged to royal families. But Śivaskandagupta is the name of an ordinary person in the Karle inscription No. 19 (*ibid*, No. 1105) and Śivaskandila (Śivaskandanāga?) is that of an ordinary officer in a Nasik inscription of Pulumāvi (*ibid*, No. 1124). Since honorifics are not known to have been used by ordinary persons, it is clear that Śivaskandavarman was certainly not an improper name in ancient India. The name of Śivaskanda Śātakarṇi in the Purāṇic list of the Andhra (Sātavāhana) kings, where no other king's name is mentioned with an honorific, is also in support of this suggestion. The name of the Brāhmaṇa Bhavaskandatrāta in the Chendalur grant is also to be noticed in this connection. Since the traditional list of early Pallava kings is of very doubtful authority, we can hardly make out anything from the non-mention of Śivaskandavarman in it. The identification of Śivaskandavarman of the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli grants with Skandavarman of the British Museum grant is therefore extremely doubtful.

As the British Museum grant is also written in Prakrit a linguistic consideration may be useful in ascertaining its date. This grant expresses double-consonants, in all cases, by more than one letter, and generally follows the spelling accepted in literary Prakrit. It has moreover the usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit. There can therefore be hardly any doubt that the British Museum grant is later than the grants of Śivaskandavarman. Skandavarman seems to have been a successor of Śivaskandavarman.

Such linguistic considerations have led us to believe that the Pallava kings of the Prakrit records, Śālaṅkāyana Devavarman of the Ellore grant, Kadamba Mayūraśarman of the Chandravalli inscription (*Mys. Arc. Surv., A. R.*, 1929, p. 50), the Kadamba king of the Malavalli record (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk., No. 264), Viṇhukaḍḍa Sātakarṇi of another Malavalli record (*ibid*, No. 263) [1] and Bṛhatphalāyana Jayavarman of the Kondamudi grant [2] may all be placed roughly between about the beginning and the middle of the fourth century.

[1] Linguistic consideration seems to suggest that the Banavasi inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 381) belonged to an earlier Viṇunkaḍa Sātakarṇi.

[2] The difference in palaeography between the Kondamudi plates and the seal attached to them may be taken to suggest that Jayavarman ruled a little earlier than the time suggested by the linguistic standard of the Kondamudi grant. But as has already been noticed, the legend on the seal which is in Sanskrit cannot be much earlier than 300 A.D.

IV

EARLY PALLAVA GENEALOGY FROM INSCRIPTIONS OF THE NELLORE-GUNTUR REGION

Some Sanskrit records of the Early Pallavas have been found in the Nellore and Guntur districts, which at one time formed the Northern part of the kingdom of Kāñcī. The Pallava genealogy constructed from these records cannot be quite easily and satisfactorily assimilated into the traditional list of early Pallava kings found in later records. The Pallava kings mentioned in these northern inscriptions, moreover, can scarcely be identified without difficulty with the Pallava princes mentioned in the inscriptions of the rulers of Kāñcī. Whether they ruled over Kāñcī proper is also not definitely known. It is therefore convenient to discuss the Early Pallavas of the northern records separately.

The Omgodu grant, No. 1 (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 246), issued from the *sthāna* or city of Tambrāpa in the 33rd year of king Skandavarman, furnishes us with the following list of kings :

1. Mahārāja Kumāraviṣṇu; his son
2. Mahārāja Skandavarman (I); his son
3. Vīravarman; his son
4. Mahārāja *śrī-vijaya*-Skandavarman (II).

Next we come to the Uruvupalli grant (*Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 50) of prince Viṣṇugopavarman, issued from the *sthāna* of Palakkaḍa, in the 11th year of Mahārāja Siṃhavarman. Here we get the following names :

1. Mahārāja Skandavarman (I); his son
2. Mahārāja Vīravarman; his son
3. Mahārāja Skandavarman (II) ; his son
4. Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopavarman.

There can be no doubt that prince Viṣṇugopavarman, issuer of the Uruvupalli grant, was the son of king Skandavarman II who issued the Omgodu grant No. 1. There is however difference of opinion as regards the identification of king Siṃhavarman in whose reign the grant of the prince was issued. According to Fleet, Mahārāja Siṃhavarman was possibly an elder brother of the Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopa. According to Hultzsch however king Siṃhavarman of the Uruvupalli grant is the same as Viṣṇugopa's son Siṃhavarman who issued the Omgodu (No. 2), Pikira and Mangalur grants. "The term *Yuvarāja* or *Yuvamahārāja* which is prefixed to Vishṇugopa not only in his Uruvupalli grant, but in the two grants of his son Siṃhavarman, suggests that he never ascended the throne, but that the succession passed from his father Skandavarman II to his son Siṃhavarman. The reason of this need not have been premature death. If it is assumed that Vishṇugopa declined to take up the reins of government or was prevented from doing so by some other reason unknown he may well have been alive during the reign of his son Siṃhavarman to whose eleventh year I would assign—*lāghavāt* as an Indian philosopher will say—the Uruvupalli grant" (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 160-61).

Three inscriptions of Viṣṇugopa's son Siṃhavarman have as yet been discovered. They are the Omgodu (No. 2) grant issued in his fourth year from a *vijaya-skandhāvāra* (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, 246), the Pikira grant issued in his fifth year from the *vijaya-skandhāvāra* of Memātura-vāsaka (*ibid*, VIII, p. 159 ff.) and the Mangalur grant issued in his eighth year from Daśanapura (*Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 154). They give us the following genealogical list :

1. Mahārāja Vīravarman; his son
2. Mahārāja Skandavarman (II); his son

3. Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopa; his son
4. Dharma-mahārāja [1] Siṃhavarman.

Next we come to the fragmentary Darsi record (*Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 397). The only information we get from this inscription is that it was issued from the *adhiṣṭhana* (city or capital) of Daśanapura by the great-grandson of a Pallava king named Virakorcavarman. The form *vīrakorca* (*cf.* Vīrakūrcavarman of later grants) shows considerable Prakrit influence which proves that the grant belongs to the period immediately following the age of the Prakrit grants. We have already noticed that the Prakrit records of the Pallavas are not written in the early inscriptional Prakrit and that they have in them passages and verses couched in Sanskrit. It must also be noticed that the Omgodu grant (No. 1) of king Skandavarman II is dated in his 33rd regnal year, on the 13th *tithi* of the third fortnight of Hemanta. This is an old form of dating used in almost all Prakrit inscriptions. Like the Darsi grant, therefore, the Omgodu grant (No. 1) also seems to have belonged to the same period, *i. e.*, the early Sanskrit period. Sanskrit grants showing considerable Prakrit influence appear to me not much later than the beginning of the fifth century A.D. They may be roughly placed between the middle of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century.[2]

[1] Other South Indian kings (*e.g.*, the Kadamba kings Mṛgeśavarman and Ravivarman) also used the title Dharmamahārāja. According to Fleet (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 288, note 5), the title means " a Mahārāja by, or in respect of, religion," and may be rendered by " a pious or riteous Mahārāja " ; but what it actually denotes is " a Mahārāja who, at the particular time of the record, was engaged in an act of religion (dharma)." Some kings are called Dharmamahārājādhirāja; *cf.* Pallava Śivaskandavarman ; the Kadamba king of the Malavalli record ; Gaṅga Nītimārga-Koṅguṇivarma-Permanaḍi and his successors (*op. cit.*, p. 303, note 3). The epithet Dharmamahāraja, as Prof. Raychaudhuri suggests to me, seems to have been connected with the peculiar boast of these kings to be *kaliyuga-doṣ-āvasanna-dharm-oddharaṇa-nitya-sannaddha.*

[2] For dates expressed in the old fashion in the Viṣṇukuṇḍin records, see *above*; and for the two Kadamba grants, see *below*.

It is possible that the great-grandson of Vīrakocavarman, who issued the Darsi grant, was a predecessor of king Skandavarman II. Consequently, Vīrakocavarman, great-grandfather of the issuer of the Darsi grant, was probably a predecessor of Kumāraviṣṇu, great-grandfather of the issuer of the Omgodu grant (No. 1).

We have now to consider the seventh and last of the Sanskrit grants so far discovered in the Nellore-Guntur region. It is the Narasaraopet record (commonly called the Chura grant), issued from the camp at Pālotkaṭa(=Palakkaḍa) during the reign of *vijaya*-Viṣṇugopavarman (II), son of Siṃhavarman, grandson of Mahārāja Viṣṇugopavarman (I) and great-grandson of Kandavarman (*i.e.*, Skandavarman). See *An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1914, pp. 10 and 82. The grant is not dated; its language is Sanskrit and the alphabet used is Telugu. It registers the king's grant of the village of Curā in the Karmarāṣṭra to a Brāhmaṇa named Casamiśarman who belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra and was an inhabitant of Kuṇḍur.[1]

The fact that the first three names of the Narasaraopet list, *viz.*, (1) Kandavarman (*i.e.*, Skandavarman), (2) Viṣṇugopavarman (I) and (3) Simhavarman, are found exactly in the same order in the Omgodu (No. 2), Pikira and Mangalur grants of Siṃhavarman makes it almost certain that Viṣṇugopavarman II of the Narasaraopet grant was a son and successor of the issuer of the above three grants. Two points however have been advanced (*ibid*, 82) against the possibility of this identification. First, it has been said that the characters in which the Narasaraopet record is engraved are comparatively more modern than those used in the grants of Siṃhavarman. Secondly, it is argued that in the Uruvupalli, Omgodu (No. 2), Pikira and Mangalur grants,

[1] The same as the native village of Śivaśarman, recipient of the Polamuru grant of Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman I; see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p.959, and *above*.

the son of Skandavarman and father of Siṃhavarman has been mentioned as a *Yuvarāja* or *Yuvamahārāja*, while in the Narasaraopet grant Viṣṇugopavarman I is called a *Mahārāja.* It has therefore been observed that Viṣṇugopavarman II of the Narasaraopet grant "must be a later king and very probably one of the missing group immediately preceding the line of Siṃhavarman and Siṃhavishṇu whose] history is pretty certain" (*loc. cit.*). The grant has been assigned to the beginning of the 7th century A.D.

In connection with the first point however we should notice the fact that the characters used in the Omgodu grant (No. 2) of Siṃhavarman, son of Viṣṇugopavarman (I), are remarkably similar to those of the Narasaraopet grant of Viṣṇugopavarman II. Krishnasastri therefore thought that the Omgodu grant (No. 2) "must have been a copy of a grant of the 5th-6th century A.D., put into writing in the seventh century, though no direct evidence,. external or internal, is to be found on this point from the wording of the grant itself. The numerous mistakes made by the engraver may possibly point to this conclusion" (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 252). If the Omgodu grant (No. 2) is believed to have been an early record copied about the beginning of the 7th century A.D., what is the objection if we think that the Narasaraopet grant was also an early inscription likewise copied about the same time?

As for the second point, it may be said that the epithet Mahārāja applied to Viṣṇugopavarman I in the Narasaraopet grant, which should properly be Yuvamahārāja, may be a mistake due to the engraver's inattention. The possibility of such a mistake becomes greater, if we believe that the Narasaraopet record is an early grant copied years after like the Omgodu grant No. 2, about the beginning of the 7th century A.D.

From the seven Sanskrit copper-plate grants, therefore, the following genealogical list of the early Pallava kings may

be prepared :

1. Mahārāja Vīrakorcavarman (Darsi grant); his successor (?)

---

2. Mahārāja Kumāraviṣṇu; his son
3. Mahārāja Skandavarman (I); his son
4. Mahārāja Vīravarman; his son
5. Mahārāja Skandavarman (II); issued the Omgodu grant No. 1 in his 33rd year; his son

---

5A. Mahārāja Siṃhavarman (I ?); he is according to Fleet the Pallava king referred to in the Uruvupalli grant; his existence however is doubtful;

5B. Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopavarman (I); issued the Uruvupalli grant; did not rule as Mahārāja; seems to have been wrongly called Mahārāja in the Narasaraopet grant; his son

---

6. Mahārāja Siṃhavarman (II?); issued the Omgodu No. 2, Pikira and Mangalur grants respectively in his 4th, 5th and 8th years; his son

7. Mahārāja Viṣṇugopavarman (II); issued the Narasaraopet grant.

V

Genealogy and Chronology of the Early Pallavas of Kāñcī

We do not know whether the Pallava kings discussed in the last section ruled over the whole of the kingdom of Kāñcī. It is however probable that some one of the princes of the Pallava house of Kāñcī, who was originally made a viceroy of the northern part of the Pallava kingdom by the king of Kāñcī, carved out a separate principality in that part independent of his overlord. If this suggestion is to be believed, the kings of the main line of the Pallavas appear to have been ruling at Kāñcī side by side with the branch line that was ruling in the Northern part of the old Kāñcī kingdom. Here we shall try to see what we know about the history of Kāñcī after the time of the Pallava kings of the Prakrit grants.

We have seen that Kāñcī was under a Pallava king about the fourth quarter of the third century A.D. That king was succeeded by his son Śivaskandavarman who ruled about the first quarter of the fourth century A. D. He may have been succeeded by a king named Skandavarman. In the British Museum grant of the time of Skandavarman, there is mention of the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Buddhavarman and of the Yuvamahāraja's son whose name has been doubtfully read as Buddhyaṅkura. It is not known whether this king ruled at Kañcī and whether the crown-prince Buddhavarman and his son ever ascended the throne.

In an attempt to fix the date of the Early Pallava kings of Kañcī, we are fortunate to have at least three points whereon we can stand with confidence.

(*i*) The first of these points is supplied by the Jain work, *Lokavibhāga* (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A.R., 1909 & 1910), where the precise date of the completion of the work is given as the 22nd year of Siṃhavarman, lord of the Pallavas, and as 80 beyond 300 years of the Śaka era. The 22nd year of a Pallava king named Siṃhavarman therefore comes to be equivalent to Śaka 380, *i.e.*, A.D. 458. According to S. Jha the date given in the *Lokavibhāga* corresponds to the 1st of March, 458; but according to Fleet to the 25th August, 458. Any way, the 22nd year of the Pallava king Siṃhavarman corresponds to A.D. 458. He therefore began to reign in (458 – 21 =) A.D. 436-37 (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 334).

(*ii*) The second point of importance is furnished by the Penukonda plates of the Gaṅga king Mādhava (*ibid*, p. 331 ff.) which, according to Fleet, are to be assigned, on palaeographical grounds, to about A.D. 475. It may be noticed here that the characters of this epigraph are remarkably similar to that of the epigraphs of the Śālaṅkāyana king Nandivarman II (*e.g.*, the Peddavegi grant; *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, I, p. 92ff.) whom I have placed about the middle of the fifth century A.D. (*above*, p. 73; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, 208ff.). The Penukonda grant was issued by the Gaṅga king Mādhava-Siṃhavarman, son of Āyyavarman, grandson of Mādhava and great-grandson of Koṅkaṇivarman. But the greatest point of historical importance in this inscription is that it tells us of Mādhava-Siṃhavarman being installed on the throne by the Pallava king Skandavarman and his father Āyyavarman being installed by the Pallava king Siṃhavarman. We have seen that Fleet ascribes the Penukonda plates to *circa* 475 A.D. It is therefore almost certain that the Pallava king Siṃhavarman who installed Āyyavarman, father of the Gaṅga king Mādhava-Siṃhavarman of the Penukonda plates, is identical with the Pallava king Siṃ-

havarman who, according to the *Lokavibhāga*, began to rule in A.D. 436-37.

(*iii*) The third point of importance is supplied by the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, which refers to the Gupta king's conflict with a certain Kāñceyaka Viṣṇugopa. This " Viṣṇugopa of Kāñcī " has been taken by all scholars to have belonged to the family of the Pallavas. Samudragupta is believed to have reigned from *circa* 330 to 375 A.D. This dating appears possible from the facts that his father Candragupta I began to rule in A.D. 320 [1] and that the earliest date of his son Candragupta II, according to the Mathura inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 1 ff.), is (Gupta 61+320=) 381 A.D. Since it is proved from the Prakrit records that the Pallavas were master of the kingdom of Kāñcī during the first half of the fourth century A.D., it is almost certain that Kāñceyaka Viṣṇugopa of the Allahabad pillar inscription was a Pallava king who ruled in the middle of that century which is the time of Samudragupta's South Indian campaign.

Let us now see whether these three Pallava kings—Siṃhavarman, Skandavarman and Viṣṇugopa, whose date is fairly correct—can be found in the epigraphs of the Pallavas themselves. The evidence of the Penukonda plates recording the installation of two consecutive Gaṅga kings—Āyyavarman, and his son Mādhava-Siṃhavarman who seems to have been named after his father's overlord—by the Pallava kings, Siṃhavarman and Skandavarman, renders it most likely that the Pallava king Siṃhavarman was the father and immediate predecessor of Skandavarman. It is very interesting in this connection to note that the Udayendiram grant (No 1) of Nandivarman (*Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 142) issued from Kāñcīpura, is the only known Pallava

[1] Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, 4th ed., p. 296; *above*, p. 89 n.

record, where in we find a Pallava king named Siṅghavarman (Siṃhavarman) succeeded by his son Skandavarman. The genealogy given in this record is :

1. Skandavarman (I) ; his son
2. Siṅghavarman ; his son
3. Skandavarman (II) ; his son
4. Nandivarman.

These four kings are mentioned exactly in the same order in the Vayalur grant of Rājasiṃha (*ibid*, XVIII, p. 150 ; see Nos. 41-44), though the relation of one with the others is not specified there. We are therefore inclined to identify the Pallava king Siṃhavarman of the *Lokavibhāga* and the Penukonda plates and Skandavarman of the latter, with respectively the second and the third king of the above list.

Beside the Udayendiram grant, there is another Sanskrit grant belonging to the early Pallava rulers of Kāñcī. This is the Chendalur grant of Kumāraviṣṇu II (*ibid*, VIII, p. 233ff.) issued from Kāñcīpura in the king's second regnal year. The grant supplies us with the following line of kings :

1. Mahārāja Skandavarman ; his son
2. Mahārāja Kumāraviṣṇu (I) ; his son
3. Mahārāja Buddhavarman ; his son
4. Mahārāja Kumāraviṣṇu (II) ; 2nd year.

According to Hultzsch (*ibid*, p. 334), " The alphabet of the Chendalur plates is more archaic than those of the Kūram and Kāśakuḍi plates, but resembles those of the Pīkira, Maṅgaļūr and Uruvupalli grants, from which it differs chiefly in the omission of horizontal strokes at the top of letters. But a point which stamp it as more modern is the fact that *r*, *k*, and subscribed *u* consist of two vertical lines of nearly equal length, while in the Pīkira,

Maṅgaḷūr and Uruvupalli grants the left line is still considerably shorter. Hence we may conclude that the four Pallava kings of the Chendalur plates ruled in the interval between Siṃhavarman (of the Omgodu No. 2, Pikira and Mangalur grants) and Siṃhavishṇu (father of Mahendravarman I, acc. *circa* 600 A.D.)."

We have already seen that Siṃhavarman, the second of the four kings mentioned in the Udayendiram grant, ruled from A.D. 436-37 to not ca,lier than A.D. 458. Thus his father Skandavarman I appears to have ruled at Kāñcī about the first quarter of the fifth century, and his grandson Nandivarman seems to have ended his rule about the beginning of the sixth century A.D. The accession of Mahendravarman I to the throne of Kāñcī is supposed to have taken place about the end of the same century, owing to his being an older contemporary of the Western Calukya king Pulakeśin II (A.D. 609-642). Mahendravarman I was preceded by his father Siṃhaviṣṇu and grandfather Siṃhavarman (see verses 10-11 of the Velurpalaiyam grant ; *S. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. II, p. 363). Between Nandivarman, the issuer of the Udayendiram grant, who seems to have ruled up to the beginning of the sixth century and Siṃhavarman, grandfather of Mahendravarman I, the Vayalur record places three kings named (1) Siṃhavarman, (2) Siṃhavarman and (3) Viṣṇugopa. The Vayalur grant thus places five kings between Nandivarman and Mahendravarman I, *i.e.*, in the sixth century A.D. roughly. Since the rule of five kings covering about a century does not appear impossible, since the existence of four earlier kings (Nos. 41-44 of the Vayalur list) has been proved by the Udayendiram grant and since it is possible that the Greater Pallavas of the line of Mahendravarman I did not forget even their immediate predecessors, the three kings (Nos. 45-47) placed by the Vayalur record between Nandivarman and Mahendravarman's grandfather may be

historical persons, though we have as yet no corroborative proof of their existence. We therefore think that the four kings of Kāñcī mentioned in the Chendalur grant ruled before the kings of the Udayendiram grant. The kings of the Chendalur record however appear to have ruled after Viṣṇugopa who came into conflict with Samudragupta in the middle of the fourth century A.D. We have already seen that, in the first half of the fourth century, Kāñcī was occupied by the Pallava kings who issued the Prakrit charters.

There are references to some Pallava rulers in the inscriptions of the Kadambas. An epigraph of the Kadamba king Ravivarman (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 29) mentions Caṇḍadaṇḍa, the lord of Kāñcī, who was defeated by the Kadamba monarch. Caṇḍadaṇḍa[1] is evidently not the name but a *biruda* of the Pallava ruler of Kāñcī who fought with Ravivarman. He cannot be satisfactorily identified with any king of the traditional list of early Pallava kings. His contemporary, the Kadamba king Ravivarman appears to have ruled about the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century (500-537 A.D. according to Dubreuil, *op. cit.*, p. 95). The Anaji inscription (*Ep. Carn.*, XI, p. 142) mentions a Pallava king whose name has been read as Nanakkāsa and who was possibly a contemporary of the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarman I who ruled about the middle of the fifth century. But the reading of the name Nanakkāsa is doubtful.[2] Another Pallava king named Sāntivara[varman, *i.e.*, Sāntivarman] has been mentioned in the Hebbata plates (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A.R., 1925, p. 98) of the Kadamba king Viṣṇuvarman. This Pallava king is supposed by some (see *infra*) to be also

[1] *Cf.* Ugradaṇḍa, a *biruda* of Pallava Parameśvaravarman I, *c.* 655-80 A.D.

[2] In *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, p. 22 note, it has been suggested that the reading of the passage would be *sva-deśa-kṣayena niṣkāsita*. If this reading is to be accepted, the name of the Pallava king referred to in the Anaji inscription is not as yet known.

mentioned in the Birur plates (*Ep. Carn.*, VI, p. 91). But he cannot be satisfactorily identified with any of the Pallava kings known from the traditional list. It must also be noticed that excepting Caṇḍadaṇḍa none of these kings is expressly said to have ruled at Kāñcī.

We thus come to know of the following early Pallava kings who appear to have ruled at Kāñcī before the rise of the Greater Pallavas of Mahendravarman's line :

1. Father of Śivaskandavarman; about the end of the third century A.D., his son.

2. Śivaskandavarman ; about the beginning of the fourth century; issued the Prakrit grants discovered at Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli.

---

3. Skandavarman ; the British Museum grant was issued in his reign ; he is not definitely known to have ruled at Kāñcī ; he may have been an early member of the branch line of the Nellore-Guntur region.

---

4. Viṣṇugopa ; came into conflict with Samudragupta (*circa* 330-375 A.D.) about the middle of the fourth century A.D.

---

5. Skandavarman; his son

6. Kumāraviṣṇu I ;[1] his son

[1] May this Kumāraviṣṇu I be identical with Kumāraviṣṇu, great-grandfather of the issuer of the Omgodu grant No. 1? The first difficulty in this identification is that Kumāraviṣṇu of the Omgodu (No. 1) grant has been called a performer of the Aśvamedha sacrifice, while the Chendalur grant does not credit Kumāraviṣṇu I with any such distinction. It is also striking that only in the grants of the descendants of Kumāraviṣṇu of the Omgodu (No. 1) grant the Pallava family is called "purified by the Aśvamedha." The above tentative identification is therefore extremely doubtful. Another difficulty is that while according to the Chendalur grant Kumāraviṣṇu I was succeeded by his son Buddhavarman and grandson Kumāraviṣṇu II, according to the Omgodu grant (No. 1) Kumāraviṣṇu was succeeded by his son Skandavarman I, grandson Vīravarman and great-grandson Skandavarman II. But in this connection we

7. Buddhavarman ; his son

8. Kumaraviṣṇu II ; issued the Chendalur grant.

---

9. Skandavarman (I) ; his son

10. Siṃhavarman ; he ascended the throne in A.D. 436-37 and ruled at least up to A.D. 458 ; his son

11. Skandavarman (II) ; his son

12. Nandivarman ; issued the Udayendiram grant.

---

13. Caṇḍadaṇḍa, who came into conflict with the Kadamba king Ravivarman about the first quarter of the sixth century. *Caṇḍadaṇḍa* may have been the *biruda* of No. 12 or possibly of one of his three successors mentioned in the Vayalur grant (Nos. 45-47).

---

14. Siṃhavarman ; [1] his son

15. Siṃhaviṣṇu; his son

16. Mahendravarman I ; ascended the throne about A.D. 600.

may notice that the Vayalur record places a Skandavarman between Buddhavarman and Kumārviṣṇu II and it may be conjectured that this Skandavarman was a son of Kumāraviṣṇu I, who was made a vicerory of the northern part of the Pallava kingdom and eventually carved out a principality there. In the Omgodu grant No. 1 Skandavarman I, son of Kumāraviṣṇu, has been called *sva-vīry ādhigata-rājya*, which epithet may support the above suggestion.

[1] It is doubtful whether Siṃhavarman, grandfather of Mahendravarman I, ruled at Kāñcī.

VI

Śivaskandavarman and Skandavarman

The earliest known Pallava king is Śivaskandavarman who issued the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli grants. In the latter grant Śivaskandavarman refers to his father as Mahārāja[1]-bappasāmi. Bühler (*Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 8, note 15) and following him many other scholars think that *Bappa* is probably the name of Śivaskandavarman's father ; and in this connection Fleet's article in *Ind. Ant.*, XV, p. 272, is referred to. *Bappa* of course may signify a personal name as we find this name in the list of recipients of the gift recorded in the Hirahadagalli grant itself.[2] We must however remember that in many early copper-plate grants including some belonging to the Pallavas, the kings called themselves *bappabhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhakta*, "devoted to the feet of the lord, the father." The word *bappa* there means "father" and cannot be a personal name, as the fathers of those kings are definitely known to have borne names having no connection with the word *bappa*. It must also be noted that the traditional lists of early Pallava kings do not mention any name

1 In connection with the title *Mahārāja* of Śivaskandavarman's father, it should be noticed that Śivaskandavarman himself is called *yuvamahārāja* in the Mayidavolu grant. He assumed however the more dignified title Dharma-Mahārājādhirāja when he became king. At the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to determine what relations Śivaskandavarman had with Northern India and how this North Indian title was adopted by him. The celebration of the Aśvamedha possibly suggests that Śivaskandavarman added new territories to the kingdom that was left by his father.

2 *Cf.* Bappa, the name of the progenitor of the Guhilots of Mewar, and also the names Bappaśarman in the Birur grant of Kadamba Viṣṇuvarman (*Ep. Carn.*, VI, p. 91) and Bappasvāmin in the Nidhanpur grant of Bhāskaravarman (*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 21).

even slightly resembling *Bappa*. Bappa therefore cannot be taken as the name of Śivaskandavarman's father without further evidence.

At the time of Śivaskandavarman the Pallava kingdom of Kāñcī certainly included the Andhra country in the north and the Bellary district in the north-west. From the Penukonda plates of the Gaṅga king Mādhava we know that about the middle of the fifth century the Gaṅgas of Mysore acknowledged the suzerainty of the Pallavas of Kāñcī. It is possible that this region was under the Pallavas as early as the time of Śivaskandavarman who was the most powerful king among the early Pallavas. This suggestion seems to be supported by the Talgunda inscription according to which the early Kadambas of Banavāsī (a place to the west of Mysore) also acknowledged Pallava supremacy.[1] Mayūraśarman, the first king of the Kadamba family, is there said to have been installed by the Pallava king of Kāñcī. According to the Talgunda inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 31 ff.) Mayūraśarman received the *paṭṭabandha-sampūjā* as well as the land between the western sea and the Prehāra from the Pallava king of Kāñcī (*cf. saṃśritas = tadā*

[1] According to the Tālgunda inscription of Kadamba Śāntivarman, Mayūraśarman went to Kāñcī for studying the Vedas. There he took part in the *pallavāśvasaṃstha-kalaha*, became enraged at the treatment he received there, and then, having trained himself to warlike exercises, easily overpowered the Pallava frontier guards and established himself at Śrīparvata (in the Kurnool district). The Pallava king took the field against him; but being unable to subdue him installed him as king over the territory extending from the Western Ocean (Arabian sea) to the Prehāra (river ?). But what is the meaning of *āśvasaṃstha kalaha*? According to the lexicon *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, the word *saṃstha* means *kratu*, *i. e.*, sacrifice (*cf. saṃsthaḥ samāpti-kratuṣu caraś = ca nija-rāṣṭragaḥ*, verse 753). May then the word *aśvasaṃstha* mean Horse-sacrifice? See *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XII, p. 354 ff. If this explanation is acceptable, it would appear that the quarrel of Mayūraśarman with the Pallavas arose in connection with an Aśvamedha sacrifice. Among the Early Pallavas only Śivaskandavarman and Kumāraviṣṇu of the Omgodu (No. 1) grant are known to have performed the Horse-sacrifice. Mayūraśarman was possibly a contemporary of one of these kings. The discovery of Śivaskandavarman's grant at Hirahadagalli in the borders of Kuntala appears to settle the question. It is possible that at the time of Śivaskandavarman the Pallava kingdom extended up to the Arabian sea in the west. See *infra*.

mahīpālān = ārādhya yuddhyeṣu vikramaiḥ prāpa paṭṭabandha-saṃpūjāṃ karapallavaiḥ pallavair = dhṛtām, bhaṅgur-ormmi-valgitair = nṛtyad-aparārṇav-āmbhaḥ-kṛtāvadhiṃ prehārān-tām = ananya-sañcaraṇa-samaya-sthitāṃ bhūmim =: eva ca). This Mayūraśarman cannot be placed long after Sivaskanda-varman. We have seen that Sivaskandavarman ruled in the beginning of the fourth century, while scholars place Mayūraśarman about the middle of the same century (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, pp. 95-96; *Kadambakula*, p. 19). Indeed the Prakrit language of the Chandravalli inscription of Mayūraśarman (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A.R., 1929, p. 50) shows that this Kadamba king ruled a little later than the accession of Sivaskandavarman. The use of *ś* (1.1) and the numerous double consonants like *mm* (1, 1), *tr, ll* (1, 2), *sth, nd* (1, 3), etc., appears to prove that the Chandravalli inscription was engraved some time after the execution of the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli grants of Sivaskandavarman. He can therefore be rightly placed about the middle of the fourth century. A.D.

I. The Mayidavolu grant was issued from Kāṃcīpura by the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Sivakhaṃdavaṃma (= Siva-skandavarman) on the fifth lunar day of the sixth fortnight of summer in the tenth year of the reigning Pallava king who was almost certainly the father of the Yuvamahārāja, but whose name is not mentioned in the grant. By this grant the Pallava crown-prince, for the increase of his victory, religious merit and strength, offered with libation of water, the village of Viripāra situated in the Aṃdhāpata (=Andhrāpatha) to two Brāhmaṇas, Puvakeṭuja and Gonaṃdija, who belonged to the Agniveśya gotra. The executor of the grant was Sivaskandavarman himself, and the order was accordingly sent to the *vāpata* (vyāpṛta), *i.e.*, governor, of Dhaṃñakada (Dhānyakaṭaka). Dhaṃñakaḍa which has been identified by different scholars with Dharaṇīkoṭa, Amarāvatī, Bezwāḍa and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, was

evidently the headquarters of the Andhra province incorporated in the Pallava kingdom. To the village of Viripāra were granted all the immunities enjoyed by the Brahmadeyas.[1] The word brahmadeya therefore means not only "a *deya* (grant) to Brāhmaṇas," but like the technical terms *brahmatrā*, *devatrā*, *devasāt*, etc., signifies a religious donation which implied certain immunities. Of the immunities or *parihāras*, the following only are specified in the Mayidavolu grant :—(1) *a-loṇa-khādaka*, (2) *a-raṭha-saṃvinayika*, (3) *a-paraṃparā-balivadha*, (4) *a-bhaḍa-pavesa*, and (5) *a-kūra-colaka-vināsi-khaṭā-saṃvāsa*.

A-loṇa-khādaka is, as already noticed, Sanskrit *a-lavaṇa-khātaka* ; by this immunity the grantor gave up the royal right of digging salt in the village granted. About the next *parihāra* Senart says (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 68), "The word seems to represent *arāshṭrasaṃvinayika*, but etymology alone is an unsafe guide in the interpretation of technical terms. *Vineti* is only used in a moral sense. Could we think of translating 'exempted from the police, the magistrate of the district (*rāshṭra* ; compare Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 32 note), or of a *rāshṭrin*?' This would remind us of those grants in which, on the other hand, it is stated that the right to punish the 'ten offences' (sadaśāparādha ; see, *e.g.*, the Alīna plates ; l.67 in Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 179 and the Deo-Baranārk inscription, l.17 ; *ibid*, p. 217) is transferred to the donee." *A-paraṃparā-balivadha* has been called *a-paraṃparā-balivadda-gahaṇa* in the Hirahadagalli grant and has been translated by Bühler as "free from the taking of the oxen in succession." This *parihāra* seems to

[1] According to Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (Samasastry's 2nd ed., p. 47), "those who perform sacrifices (*ṛtvik*), spiritual guides (*ācārya*), priests (*purohita*) and those learned in the Vedas (*śrotriya*) shall be granted Brahmadeya lands yielding sufficient produce (*abhirūpa-dāyaka*) and exempted from taxes and fines (*a daṇḍa-kara*)." Brahmadeya is also mentioned when Kauṭilya says (II, 20) that the *daṇḍa* (rod) of 8 cubits (192 *aṅgulis*) in length was used in measuring Brahmadeya and Ātithya lands.

suggest that the villagers had to supply bullocks for the bullock-carts used by royal officers when the latter went on tour through the country. *A-bhaḍa-pavesa*, as we have already noticed, implies that no troops would enter the village of Viripāra and cause disturbances. Battles therefore could not be fought on the fields of this village. The next *parihāra* is very important. According to Hultzsch, *kūra* means "boiled rice" and *colaka* (*collaka* of the Hirahadagalli grant) is the same as *cullakī*, *i.e.*, pot. The word *vināsi* has not as yet been explained. Possibly it means "fuel." The words *khaṭā* and *saṃvāsa*, respectively, mean "cot" and "dwelling." This *parihāra* then implies exemption from the obligation of supplying boiled rice, water-pots, *vināsi*, cots and dwellings to the officers who visited the place. In this connection it is interesting to note the views of Manu (VII, 115-119). According to this law-giver, the king must appoint a headman called *grāmika* over each village, a *daśin* or *daś-eśa* over each unit of ten villages, a *viṃśat-īśa* over each unit of twenty villages, a *śat-eśa* over each unit of hundred villages and a *sahasr-ādhipati* over each unit of thousand villages. As remuneration, the head of thousand villages should enjoy a city, that of hundred villages a village, that of twenty villages five *kulas* of land, that of ten villages one *kula* (=*kulyavāpa*=Bengali *kuṛobā*, *i.e.*, Bighā?) of land, but

yāni rāja-pradeyāni pratyahaṃ grāma-vāsibhiḥ,
anna-pān-endhan-ādīni grāmikas = tān = avāpnūyāt.

"The headman of the village should get all of what is daily payable by the villagers to the king in the shape of food (*anna*), drink (*pāna*) fuel and other things (*indhan-ādi*)." By the above *parihāra* then the village would appear to have been exempted from its dues to the *grāmika*. But *khaṭvā* (cot) and *saṃvāsa* (dwelling) should possibly have been required by officers who came to the village on

tour, the *grāmika* being probably more or less a settled inhabitant of the village. In connection with this *parihāra* we must also refer to line 8 of the Kudgere grant of Kadamba Māndhātṛvarman (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 12) where the immunity is mentioned as *a-khaṭvā-vās-audana*, "exempt from (the duty of providing) cots, abodes and boiled rice."[1]

The villagers of Viripāra and the royal officials are asked to exempt the village and to cause it to be exempted with all the above *parihāras*. It is also said that one who would transgress the royal edict and would give or cause to be given any trouble or annoyance to the donees. on him the royal authority should inflict bodily punishment.

The ends of the ring that holds the plates together are secure in an elliptical seal which bears in relief " an animal couchant and facing the proper right—apparently a bull,[2] as it has a hump on its back—and below it the legend *śivaska(ndavarmaṇaḥ* ?) in an alphabet which appears to be slightly different from that of the inscription " (*ibid*, p. 84). The seals seem to have been kept ready in the record-office and were attached to a set of copper-plates when the latter was prepared.

At the beginning of the Mayidavolu grant, there is the word *diṭhaṃ*, *i.e.*, " has been seen," exactly as on the last plate of the Hirahadagalli grant. This possibly refers to

1 A Tamil record of A.D. 1407 refers to revenue in rice (*sakala-bhakt-ādāya*), and another of 1240 mentions "all the revenue in paddy excluding tolls and the small tax for the village police and including the three handfuls of paddy; the *rice* in Kārttika"; etc. (*S. Ind. Ins.*, I, pp. 82, 89).

2 The crest of the Pallavas was a bull (*ṛṣabha lāñchana*), evidently intended for Nandin the servant and carrier of Śiva. The bull appears on the seals of Pallava copperplate grants, sometimes recumbent and sometimes standing. The banner of the Pallavas was the *khaṭvāṅga-dhvaja*, *i.e.*, banner bearing the representation of a club with a skull at its top. Sometimes the bull is described as the banner of the Pallavas. Śiva seems to have been the family god of the dynasty (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 319 and note).

a practice of examining the grant s a ter the copying of the plates from a set kept in the king's record-office.

II. Hirabadagalli is a place near the western border of the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency. The copper-plate grant discovered there was issued from Kāṃcīpura on the fifth day of the sixth fortnight of rainy season in the 8th year of the Pallava Dharma-mahārājādhirāja Śivaskanda-varman who is said to have belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra and is credited with the performance of the Agniṣṭoma, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha sacrifices. As we have already suggested, the celebration of Aśvamedha by Śivaskandavarman seems to speak of the success of the Pallavas against the Ikṣvākus and other neighbouring powers. By this record the king granted a garden situated in the southern boundary of a village called Cillarekakoḍuṃka as a *parihāra*, *i.e.*, an honorific grant (see *Manusaṃhitā*, VII, 201). Two *nivartanas* of land were also granted in a village called Āpiṭṭi, one for a threshing floor and the other for a house, along with four *Addhikās* and two *Kolikās*. The grant was made in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas, the chief among whom was Agisamaja (=Agniśarmārya). *Addhikā* (=*ārdhika*), according to Bühler, is " a labourer receiving half the produce." It has been referred to in the Ellore grant of Śālaṅkāyana Devavarman as *addhiya-manussa* (see also *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya, I. 166). *Kolikā*, as Bühler says (*Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 9, note), " corresponds to Sanskrit *Kaulikāḥ* and may mean ' weavers.' But it is also possible to think of the well-known tribe of the Kolīs who are slaves."

The village of Cillarekakoḍuṃka, as also possibly Āpiṭṭi, was situated in the Sātāhani-raṭṭha (Sātavāhanīya-rāṣṭra) which is evidently the same as Sātavāhani-hāra mentioned in the Myakadoni inscription of Pulumāvi (*ibid*, XIV, p. 153) and corresponds roughly to the present Bellary district. The garden of Cillarekakoḍuṃka is said to have been

originally granted by Śivaskandavarman's father. This part of the old Sātavāhana empire was therefore occupied by the Pallavas as early as the time of that king, that is to say, before *circa* 300 A.D.

The following officials, employed in the different parts of the *viṣaya*, have been mentioned in connection with the observance of immunities: (1) Rājakumāra, (2) Senāpati, (3) Raṭṭhika, (4) Māḍavika, (5) Desādhikata, (6) Gāmāgāmabhojaka, (7) Vallava, (8) Govallava, (9) Amacca, (10) Ārakhādhikata, (11) Gumika, (12) Tūthika and (13) Neyika. Along with these are also mentioned (14) the Saṃcarantakas and (15) the Bhaḍamanusas who might be sent by the king to the villages in order to execute any commission (*ahma-pesanap-payutta*). Rājakumāra seems to refer to princes who possibly acted as viceroys of the king. Senāpati is obviously "leader of the army." The word *raṭṭhika* is equivalent to Sanskrit *rāṣṭrika*, *i.e.*, governor of a rāṣṭra. As regards the next term, Bühler says (*ibid*, I, p. 7, note), "I consider the correction *māṇḍavika* as certain and take the word *maṇḍaba* or *maṇḍapa*, from which it has been derived, in the sense of modern *māṇḍavī*, 'custom-house.'" Leumann however thinks that *māḍavika* is the same as *māḍaṃbika*, *i.e.*, "chief of a *maḍaṃba* district," and Raychaudhuri translates it as "burgomaster" *Desādhikata* (=*deśādhikṛta*) is "ruler of a deśa." Gāmāgāmabhojaka has been translated by Bühller as "freeholders of various villages." This meaning of the word *bhojaka* is supported by its use in line 8 of the Hirahadagalli grant itself where the donees are called *cillarekakoḍuṃka-bhojaka*. In justifying the form *gāmāgāmabhojaka*, Fausböll points out that repetitions of the same word with a lengthening of the final vowel of the first are commonly used in Pali in order to indicate *vīpsā* (*loc. cit.*, p. 7, note). According to Amara, the word *vallava* means *gopa* which is obviously the same as *go-vallava* of this inscription. *Vallava* there-

fore seems to be the same as *vallabha* which is so common in early South Indian inscriptions and is according to Jaṭādhara, the same as *aśva-rakṣa* (keeper of horses). Bühler has translated the two terms as " herdsmen " and " cowherds " respectively. *Amacca* is evidently the same as Sanskrit *amātya*, " minister." Leumann thinks that *ārakhādhikata* (= *ārakṣādhikṛta*) means " employed as a guard." Bühler however read the word as *āraṇādhikata* and translated it as " foresters." *Gumika* (= *gaulmika*) is evidently " head of a *gulma* (outpost of soldiers)." According to Manu (VII, V, 114), a king must place a *gulma* in the centre of two, three, five or hundred villages in order to protect his kingdom (see also Manu, VII, 190 ; and *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 155). According to Bühler, *Tūthika* may be connected with Prakrit *tūha*, " *tīrtha*," and possibly means " overseers of fords or of bathing places." With *neyika* may be compared the word *naiyyoka* of the Uruvupalli grant, which Fleet changed to *niyukta* (*Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 52). Bühler thinks that *naiyyoka* is a mistake for *naiyika*, which would exactly correspond to *neyika*, and that both the terms are corruptions of Sanskrit *nāyaka*, which is commonly pronounced *naicka* and seems to mean a military officer of the rank of corporal or sergeant (*Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 8, note 13). It however seems to me that neither Fleet nor Bühler is justified in the interpretation of *neyika*. *Naiyyoka* of the Uruvupalli grant is evidently a mistake for *naiyogika* which word we find in the Chendalur grant of Kumāraviṣṇu II (*ibid*, VIII, p. 233). The word is derived from *niyoga* and is evidently the same as *niyogin* which, according to Hemachandra, is synonymous with *karmasaciva*, *āyukta* and *vyāpṛta*. A *vyāpṛta* is known from the Kondamudi grant to have been ruler of an *āhāra* and an *āyukta* is mentioned in an inscription of Budhagupta as a *viṣaya-pati* (*ibid*, XV, p. 139). *Naiyogika* (or *niyogin*) may there-

fore be supposed to have been the ruler of some territorial division. The *sañcarantakas* are " spies " (see Manu, VII. 122) and the *bhaṭa-manuṣyas* are " soldiers."

The grant is said to have been confirmed by libation of water (*udakādiṃ*)[1] and made valid as long as the moon and stars endure (*ā-caṃda-tārakālika kātūnaṃ*). All the eighteen kinds of *parihāras* were granted. The inhabitants of the *viṣaya*, specially those of Āpiṭṭi and Cillarekakoḍuṃka, were ordered to observe the *parihāras* and to see that they were observed by others. The king says, " Now, if anybody, knowing this, proud of being a favourite of the king, should cause or cause to be caused a smaller obstacle to the donees, him, forsooth, we shall restrain by punishment. And further I pray both the future great warriors of our Pallava race who may rule within a period exceeding one hundred thousand years, as well as kings differing from us in descent, saying unto them: ' To him among you blessings, who in his time makes the people act according to the rule written above. But he who acts contrary to it shall be the lowest of men loaded with the guilt of the five mortal sins."

Of the eighteen kinds of *parihāras* the grant specifie the following: (1) *a-kūra-collaka-vinesi-khaṭṭā-vāsa*, (2 *a-dudha-dadhi-gahaṇa*, (3) *a-raṭṭha-saṃvinayika* (4) *a-loṇa guḷa-cchobha*, (5) *a-kara-veṭṭhi-koṃjala*, (6) *a-paraṃparā balivadda-gahaṇa*, (7) *a-taṇa-kaṭṭha-gahaṇa*, and (8 *a-harītaka-sāka-pupha-gahaṇa*. The first *parihāra* h already been explained in connection with the Maidavo grant. The next *parihāra*, *viz.*, *a-dudha-dadhi-gahaṇa* made the village free from the obligation of supplying swe and sour milk, and appears to fall under the category *pāna*, daily payable by the villagers to the *grāmika* (

[1] As regards this custom, *cf.* Agni Purāṇa, ch. 209, 49-50 :—

dravyasya nāma gṛhnīyād=dadān=iti tathā vadet,
toyaṃ dadyāt tato haste dāne vidhir =ayaṃ smṛitaḥ.

Manu quoted above). *A-raṭṭha-saṃvinayika* has been explained. *A-loṇa-guḷa-cchobha* (*a-lavaṇa-guḍa-kṣobha*) has been translated by Bühler as "free from troubles about salt and sugar." That digging pits for extracting salt was a royal monopoly is known from a number of inscriptions which refer to *parihāras* like *a-loṇa-khādaka* (*a-lavaṇa-khātaka*), *a-lavaṇa-kreṇi-khanaka* (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, line 28, No. 55, and No. 56) and *sa-loha-lavaṇ-ākara* (*Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 101). The word *guḍa*, mentioned along with *loṇa*, shows that the manufacture of sugar was also a royal monopoly. The following immunity exempted the village from the obligation of supplying grass and wood (*cf. indhana* in the passage quoted from Manu). The last *parihāra* of the list seems to signify exemption from the (occasional) supply of myrobalan, vegetables and flowers. Bühler says (*ibid*, I, p. 8, note 28), " Milk, grass, fire-wood, vegetables and so forth had to be furnished gratis by the villagers to royal officers and their servants. The custom still prevails in many native states" (see also Manu quoted above).

The grant was executed by the king himself and the plates were prepared in the handwriting of his privy-councillor (*rahasyādhikṛta*) Bhaṭṭisamma who was the *bhojaka* (*i.e.*, *ināmdār*) of Kolivāla.

The Hirahadagalli plates are held together by a ring to which an almost circular and somewhat battered seal, about an inch in diameter, is attached. The emblem on the seal is an animal facing the proper right, which, according to Bühler, may be intended for a deer or a horse.[1] Below the emblem stands the word *Śivaskanda-varmaṇaḥ*, the last three letters of which are defaced and doubtful. It is certain that the legend on the seal was written in Sanskrit like the *maṅgala* at the end of the

1 The animal is most probably a bull which was the crest of the Pallavas (see *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 319, note 5).

inscription which reads *svasti go-brāhmaṇa-lekhaka-vācaka-śrotṛbhya(ḥ) iti.* This along with the fact that the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli grants sometimes express compound consonants by more than one letter shows that these two grants were executed at a time when Sanskrit had already made its way in the field of South Indian epigraphy.

III. The British Museum plates appear to have been originally found at Kondakur in the Guntur district of the Madras Presidency. They were issued in the reign of (*siri-vijaya*-Khandavamma) (= Skandavarman). We have already discussed about the identification of Śivaskandavarman of the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli grants and Skandavarman of the British Museum grant and have shown that the identification is extremely doubtful.

The donor of the grant is Cārudevī, wife (*devī*) of the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Buddhavarman and mother of a prince whose name has been conjecturally read by Hultzsch as Buddhyaṅkura. The relation of Mahārāja Skandavarman and Yuvamahāraja Buddhavarman is not specified in the grant. There is no evidence that this prince, who seems to have been a provincial governor,[1] ascended the throne. Skandavarman is not known to have ruled at Kāñcī. It is possible that he was an early member of the Pallava house of the Nellore-Guntur region and was an ancestor of Skandavarman II of the Oṃgodu grant (No. 1). He may possibly be identified with king No. 29 (or No. 32 ?) of the Vayalur list (see Appendix *below*).

By this grant Cārudevī seems to have addressed the villagers and officials at Kaḍaka (Kaṭaka) to the effect that a certain field to be ploughed by Ātuka on the western side of the drinking well below the *rāja-taḍāga*, containing four *nivartanas* of land, had been given by her highness for the

[1] Buddhavarman may not be the king of the same name mentioned in the Chendalur grant. Buddhavarman of the Chendalur grant seems to be of later date.

increase of her highness's life and power, to the god Nārāyaṇa of the Kuḷi-mahātaraka temple at Dālura. This *Kuḷi-mahātaraka-devakula* appears to signify a temple established by a Mahattara named Kuḷi. The villagers and officials were asked to exempt the field with all immunities and to cause it to be exempted. The executor of the grant was Rohanigutta (Rohinīgupta).

The most interesting feature of the grant is that though it is written in Prakrit, it contains two imprecatory verses (*bahubhir=vasudhā dattā* etc.) which are in Sanskrit and are so common in the Sanskrit copper-plate grants. This fact and the fact that the grant expresses compound consonants, in all cases, with more than one letter, appear to suggest that the British Museum grant is slightly later than the grants of Śivaskandavarman.

The seal of Skandavarman attached to the British Museum grant bears a standing animal which faces the proper right and looks like a deer, but must be meant for a bull, the crest of the Pallavas (*cf. Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 319, note 5), and, over the back of the bull, a few indistinct symbols which may be taken for the sun, a crescent, and perhaps one or more stars (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 144).

VII

CHENDALUR GRANT OF KUMĀRAVIṢṆU II

The Chendalur grant was issued from *vijaya*-Kāñcīpura on the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika in the 2nd regnal year of the Pallava king Kumāraviṣṇu II, who was the son of Mahārāja Buddhavarman, grandson of Mahārāja Kumāraviṣṇu I and great-grandson of Mahārāja Skandavarman. Kumāraviṣṇu I and his son Buddhavarman have possibly been mentioned in the Velurpalaiyam record (see *above*, p. 160). Like Skandavarman II (of the Uruvupalli, Omgodu No. 2, and Pikira grants), Kumāraviṣṇu I has been described as the fifth *loka-pāla*. In the *Mahābhārata* (see Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 149) and the Nanaghat cave inscription (Lüders, List, No. 1112) the gods Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and Vāsava are called the four *loka-pālas* or guardians of the world. The description of a king as the fifth *loka-pāla* means to say that he was a protector of the earth like those four gods. In classical literature (*e.g.*, *Raghu*, II, 16) a king is called *madhyama-loka-pāla*, "protector of the middle world (*i.e.*, the earth)." In this connection it is interesting to note the description of Samudragupta as "equal to (the gods) Dhanada (=Kubera), Varuṇa, Indra (=Vāsava who is however different from Indra in the Nanaghat record) and Antaka(=Yama); see *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 14n., 250.[1]

Like many other Pallava rulers, Kumāraviṣṇu II calls himself *kaliyuga-doṣ-āvasanna-dharm-oddharṇa-nitya-sannaddha*. This epithet is also used by Viṣṇugopavarman and Siṃhavarman, and Nandivarman of the Udayendiram grant. The Pallava kings thus appear to have boasted of being called "Defender of Faith;" and the epithet possibly refers to the fact that they were determined to purify their

[1] Sometimes the quarter-guardians are said to be eight. According to Amara, the *dik-patis* are Indra (east), Vahni (south-east), Pitṛpati, *i.e.*, Yama (south), Nairṛta (south-west), Varuṇa (west), Marut (north-west), Kubera (north) and Īśa (north-east).

Brahmanical faith which was influenced by heretical doctrines like Buddhism at the time of the later Sātavāhanas and the Ikṣvākus. Kumāraviṣṇu II has some epithets in common with Viṣṇugopavarman of the Uruvupalli grant. Like Viṣṇugopa and his son Siṃhavarman, he is called *bhagavat-pād-ānudhyāta* and *parama-bhāgavata*, and like the records of those two princes the Chendalur grant begins with the adoration *jitaṃ bhagavatā*. He was evidently a Vaiṣṇava in faith.

The record is an order to the villagers of Cendalūra in the Karmākarāṣṭra and to all the *naiyogikas* and *vallabhas* employed there. Chendalur, the find-spot of the inscription, is a place in the Ongole taluka of the Nellore district. Hultzsch has corrected Karmmākarāṣṭra as Karmarāṣṭra known from several inscriptions. The form Karmmākarāṣṭra seems to be the same as Kamakaraṭha mentioned in a Nagarjunikonda inscription.

The word *naiyogika* is derived from *niyoga* and is evidently the same as *niyogin* which appears to mean "governor of a district" (*cf. niyogī karmasaciva āyukto vyāpṛtaś=ca saḥ*, Hemacandra). *Vallabha* means either the king's favourites or keepers of the royal cattle.

It is said that there were eight hundred *paṭṭikās* (pieces) of *khās* land (*rāja-vastu bhuvā sthitaṃ*) in the village of Cendalūra, and that by this grant the king offered 432 *paṭṭikās* out of that land as a Brahmadeya (*brahmadeya-maryādayā*) to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhavaskandatrāta [1] who belonged to the Kauṇḍinya gotra and the Chāndogya sūtra. The lands given did not include what was previously granted for the enjoyment of gods (*devabhoga-hala-varjjaṃ*). The grant was executed with a hope for the increase of

[1] According to Yama quoted in *Śabdakalpadruma*, s. v. *śarmā* (*cf. śarmā devaś=ca viprasya varmā trātā ca bhūbhujaḥ*, etc.), Bhavaskandatrāta can not be the proper name of a Brāhmaṇa.

the king's longevity, strength, victory and wealth, in accordance with the *hala-nyāya* (laws regarding the *halas*, like *devahala*, *bhikṣuhala*, etc.) and was made immune with all the *parihāras*.

The villagers and officers were ordered to observe the immunities and to see that others observed them. People who would violate this order have been threatened with physical punishment. The charter ends with the *maṅgala* : *go-brāhmana* (sic) *nandatu*, *svasty*=*astu prajābhyaḥ*, which reminds us of a similar *maṅgala* at the end of the Hirahadagalli grant of Śivaskandavarman.

The word *paṭṭikā* ordinarily means " a piece of cloth ;" on analogy, it seems to mean " a piece of land." We do not know whether *paṭṭikā* here signifies a particular land-measure like the *nivartana*. The land is said to have been situated in the Kavacakāra-bhoga of the Karmmākarāṣṭra. *Bhoga* is evidently the same as *bhukti* of North Indian inscriptions. It signifies a territorial unit like " district." *Cf.* Pallava-bhoga (Kāñcī?) mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 111).

VIII

Udayendiram Grant (No. 1) of Nandivarman

The Udayendiram grant was issued from Kāñcīpura on the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśākha possibly in the first year of the Pallava king Nandivarman, son of Skandavarman II, grandson of Siṃhavarman and great-grandson of Skandavarman I. Like the issuers of other early Pallava charters, Nandivarman is called *kaliyuga-doṣ-āvasanna-dharm-oddha-raṇa-nitya-sannaddha.* His epithets *bhagavat-pād-ānudhyāta* and *parama-bhāgavata* together with the fact that his grant begins with the adoration *jitaṃ bhagavatā*, show that he was a Vaiṣṇava like Viṣṇugopa, Siṃhavarman and Kumāraviṣṇu II.

Udayendiram, the find-spot of Nandivarman's grant, is a place in the North Arcot district. The grant is full of textual mistakes ; the characters moreover do not belong to the early Pallava period. According to Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 143), the grant is to be palæographically assigned to about A.D. 680 ; according to Fleet however it was fabricated about 935 A.D. (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 321 n.) But the facts that the four kings mentioned in it are given exactly in the same order in the Vayalur record and that the style and phraseology of the grant are very similar to those of the early Pallava records, seem to prove that the grant was copied, though by an incompetent scribe, from an early genuine record.

By this grant, the Pallava king Nandivarman offered four pieces of *āraṇya* land at Kāñcīvāyil-grāma in Adeyāra-rāṣṭra, according to *pūrva-bhoga-maryādā*, to a Brāhmaṇa named Kuḷacarman (= Kulaśarman) who was an

inhabitant of Kāñcivāyil and belonged to the Kauśika gotra, Pravacana sūtra and Taittirīya caraṇa. The lands were granted in accordance with Brahmadeya-maryādā, with all the immunities but with the exception of *devabhoga-hala*, for the increase of the king's longevity, strength, victory and wealth. It is said that the four pieces of forest-land in Kāñcivāyil-grāma are to be made immune with all the *parihāras* and that anyone who would violate the order should be physically punished.

The seal of Nandivarman attached to the Udayendiram grant is circular. It contains in bas-relief the figure of a standing bull facing the proper left. There is a much worn and illegible inscription at the margin ((*loc. cit.*).

IX

OMGODU GRANT (NO. 1) OF SKANDAVARMAN II

In the Omgodu grant (No. 1) of Skandavarman II, the reigning king's great-grandfather, Kumāraviṣṇu, has been called *aśvamedha-yājī, i.e.*, performer of the Horse-sacrifice. He was therefore a great king who was possibly a successor of Vīrakorcavarman of the Darsi plate.

Kumāraviṣṇu was succeeded by his son Skandavarman I who is mentioned in the Omgodu (No. 1) and Uruvupalli grants. He is said to have been a *parama-brahmaṇya* ; but his most significant epithet seems to be *sva-vīry-ādhigata-rājya*, which means to say that he obtained the kingdom by his own valour. His father was a powerful king who performed the great aśvamedha sacrifice. The significance of this epithet, as I have already pointed out, may be that after the death of Kumāraviṣṇu, Skandavarman I quarrelled with his brother who was probably Kumāraviṣṇu's successor at Kāñcī, and carved out a separate principality in the northern part of the Pallava kingdom. Kumāraviṣṇu's successor at Kāñcī was possibly Buddhavarman mentioned in the Chendalur grant. We cannot however be definite as regards this suggestion, as the identification of this Kumāraviṣṇu with Kumāraviṣṇu I of the Chandalur grant is very doubtful.

The son and successor of Skandavarman I was Vīravarman who has been called "the sole hero in the world" in all the inscriptions. He was possibly a warrior of considerable importance. According to Krishnasastri (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 249), this Vīravarman is to be identified with Vīrakorcavarman of the Darsi plate. Darsi, identified by

some scholars with Daśanapura, is a place in the Podili division of the Nellore district. Only the first plate of the Darsi grant has been discovered; it was edited by Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 357. The grant was issued from the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the victorious Daśanapura by a Pallava king whose name and genealogy cannot be known until the missing plates of the grant are found. Only the name of Vīrakorcavarman, the great-grandfather of the issuer, is known. The Sanskrit form of the word is *Vīrakūrca* which is found in the Vayalur and Velurpalaiyam records. The use of this Prakritised name appears to show that the grant was issued at a time when Prakrit was still lingering in the field of South Indian epigraphy. The identification of this king with Vīravarman however seems to me doubtful, since these two distinct forms (*viz.*, Vīrakūrca and Vīravarman) are found as names of different kings in the Vayalur list of early Pallava kings. Vīrakorca of the Darsi plate may be the same as (the second) Vīrakūrca of the Vayalur list.

Vīravarman was succeeded by his son who is called *śrī-vijaya*-Skandavarman in his own Omgodu grant (No. 1), but simply Skandavarman in the inscriptions of his descendants. He has some epithets in common with Kumāraviṣṇu I of the Chendalur grant and also with Skandavarman II of the Udayendiram grant. Like Kumāraviṣṇu I of the Chendalur grant he is described as the fifth *loka-pāla*. Though he is not called *parama-bhāgavata*, his epithet *bhagavad-bhakti-sadbhāva-saṃbhāvita-sarva-kalyāṇa* in the grants of his grandson shows that he was a Vaiṣṇava.

The Omgodu grant (No. 1) was issued from the victorious city of Tambrāpa in the 33rd regnal year of Skandavarman II, on the thirteenth *tithi* of the third Hemanta-pakṣa. This form of dating resembles that used in the early Prakrit grants and is remarkably different from the form of dating used in the Sanskrit grants of the Pallavas. It therefore shows that Skandavarman II ruled

not long after the kings of the Prakrit charters. We have already shown that some parts of the Mayidavolu, Hirahadagalli and British Museum grants are written in Sanskrit and that the issuers of those grants could not have ruled long before the kings who issued the Sanskrit grants. We have also suggested that the Sanskrit grants showing considerable Prakrit influence may roughly be placed in the period between the middle of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century A.D.[1]

By this grant the king made a Brahmadeya of the village of Oṃgoḍu in the Karmarāṣṭra, and offered the same with the exception of the *devabhoga-hala*, in a form of *sāttvika-dāna*, to a *dvi-veda* and *ṣaḍaṅga-pāraga* Brāhmaṇa named Golaśarman of the Kāśyapa gotra. The Karmarāṣṭra in which Oṃgoḍu was situated has been taken to be the same as Kamma-nāḍu of later Telugu inscriptions and has been identified with the northern part of Nellore and southern part of Guntur. According to Krishnasastri (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 254), Oṃgoḍu may be the same as modern Ongole, the head quarters of the Ongole taluka of the Guntur district. Of the boundaries of Oṃgoḍu given in the Omgodu grant (No. 2) of Siṃhavarman, Koḍikiṃ may be identical with modern Koṇiki near Ongole and Penukaparru may be the same as Pinukkiparu mentioned as the family name of certain Brāhmaṇas who were recipients of a village called Taṇḍantoṭṭam near Kumbakonam (*S. Ind. Ins.*, II, pp. 519, 532).

[1] The early form of the dates used by the Viṣṇukuṇḍins appears to be due to conservatism inherited from their original home. It should however be noticed that two grants of the Kadamba kings Mṛgeśavarman and Ravivarman who ruled about the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th century are dated in the old fashion. One is dated in the 4th year of Mṛgeśavarman on the full-moon day of the 8th fortnight of Varṣā (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, pp. 37-38), and the other in the 11th year of Ravivarman on the 10th *tithi* of the 6th fortnight of Hemanta (*ibid*, VI, p. 28). This old way of expressing dates in such a late period appears to be due to Jain influence. See *below*.

The seal of Skandavarman II attached to the Omgodu grant (No. 1) is almost circular. It is totally worn away, and has no trace of any symbols, "though it may be presumed to have had on it originally the recumbent bull, as in the case of other Pallava grants" (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 249).

X

Crown-Prince Viṣṇugopa and Dharmamahārāja Siṃhavarman

Viṣṇugopa or Viṣṇugopavarman, son of Skandavarman II, did not ascend the throne. His Uruvupalli grant was issued in the 11th year of the reign of Mahārāja Siṃhavarman. As we have already seen, Fleet thought that this Siṃhavarman was an elder brother of the Yuvamahārāja (or Yuvarāja) Viṣṇugopavarman. Hultzsch, however, suggests that he is no other than Viṣṇugopa's son who issued the Omgodu (No. 2), Pikira and Mangalur grants. According to the latter view therefore the Pallava throne passed from Skandavarman II directly to his grandson Siṃhavarman.

In the Uruvupalli grant Viṣṇugopavarman calls himself *prajā-saṃrañjana-paripālan-odyoga-satata-satra- vrata- dīkṣita* and *rājarṣi-guṇa-sarva-sandoha-vijigīṣu*, which he could not have said if he was not a ruler of subjects. As a crown-prince he was possibly in charge of a district of the Pallava kingdom. The district of which he was the governor probably had its head quarters at Palakkaḍa from where the Uruvupalli grant was issued. As we have already noted, both Viṣṇugopa and his son Siṃhavarman are called *parama-bhāgavata* in the inscriptions, all of which begins with the adoration : *jitaṃ bhagavatā*. They were evidently Vaiṣṇava. In this connection, the name *Viṣṇugopa* and the dedication of 200 *nivartanas* of land (595 acres according to Kauṭilya, but 148·6 acres according to his commentator ; see *below*) to the god Viṣṇuhāra may also be noted.

In all the inscriptions of Viṣṇugopa and Siṃhavarman, the Pallavas have been credited with the performance of many aśvamedhas or many *kratus* and this evidently refers to the aśvamedha performed by their ancestor Kumāraviṣṇu. So far we know only of two Pallava kings who performed the Horse-sacrifice. The first of them is Śivaskandavarman of the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli grants, and the second is Kumāraviṣṇu, grandfather of Skandavarman II who issued the Omgodu grant (No. 1). The former is also credited with the performance of the Agniṣṭoma and Vājapeya sacrifices.

In the Omgodu grant (No. 2) of Siṃhavarman, the Pallavas have been referred to as *vallabha* which is evidently the same as *śrī-vallabha* of the Mangalur grant. It is interesting to note that titles like *śrī-vallabha*, *pṛthivī-vallabha*, etc., were adopted by the Calukya kings of Bādāmi.[1] We do not know whether the Calukyas appropriated the title of the Pallavas. It is however certain that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings who succeeded the Calukyas in the sovereignty of the Deccan appropriated these titles and were therefore known as *vallabha-rāja*. Arabic travellers of the 9th and 10th centuries mention a powerful

[1] The Calukya antagonist of Pallava Narasiṃhavarman has been called *Vallabha-rāja* (*jetā bahuśo vallabha-rājasya*, etc., of the Udayendiram grant, No. 2; *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, p. 273). In the Samangadh inscription (*ibid*, XI, p. 111), the Calukya contemporary of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga (II) has been called *Vallabha*. In the Yevur and Miraj grants (*ibid*, VIII, pp. 12-14), the Calukyas themselves refer to the greatness of their family as *vallabharāja-lakṣmī*. These are only a few of the examples. Prof. Raychaudhuri points out to me that the fuller form of the epithet is *śrī-pṛthivī-vallabha* which possibly suggests that these Vaiṣṇava kings claimed to have been incarnations of Viṣṇu who is the *vallabha* of both Śrī and Pṛthivī. There seems to be an analogy between these kings' upholding Dharma from the Kaliyuga-doṣa and Viṣṇu's upholding Pṛthivī from the Pralaya in his Varāha incarnation. The figures of two queens with each of the two Pallava kings engraved on the portals of the Ādi-Varāha cave (identified by Krishnasastri with Mahendravarman I and his son Narasiṃhavarman-Siṃhaviṣṇu, but by T. G. Aravamuthan with Siṃhaviṣṇu and his son Mahendravarman I, see *South Indian Portraits*, p. 11 ff.) appear to represent symbolically Śrī and Pṛthivī (see my note in *Ind. Cult.*, II, pp. 131-32).

dynasty of the Balharās who ruled at Mānkīr. According to R. G. Bhandarkar (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 209), *Balharā* is an Arabic corruption of *Vallabharāja* and the Balharās of Mānkīr are no other than the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa.[1]

I. The Uruvupalli grant of Viṣṇugopavarman was issued from the glorious and victorious *sthāna* of Palakkaḍa. By this grant, the Dharma-yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopavarman, who belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra and the Pallava family, issued an information about his donation to the villagers of Uruvupalli (situated in Muṇḍarāṣṭra) and an order to all the *āyuktakas* and *naiyyokas*, and the *rāja-vallabhas* and *sañcarantakas*, who had to make the following gift of the crown-prince immune with all the *parihāras*. The grant was in the form of 200 *nivartanas* of lands which were made a *devabhoga* to be enjoyed by the god Viṣṇuhāra whose temple called Viṣṇuhāra-devakula was built by the *senāpati* Viṣṇuvarman at a place called Kaṇḍukūra (or Keṇḍukūra). The object of the grant was the increase of longevity and strength of the donor. It is warned that any one who would transgress the order would be liable to physical punishment. The plates are said to have been given in the 11th year of Siṃhavarma-mahārāja, on the tenth day of the dark half of Pauṣa.

Āyuktaka which, as we have already seen, is synonymous with *niyogin*, *karma-saciva* and *vyāpṛta*, seems to mean "governor of a district." The passage *asmin viṣaye sarv-āyuktakāḥ* possibly shows that there were several *āyuktakas* employed in a single *viṣaya*. The word *naiyyoka* is evidently the same as *naiyogika* of the Chendalur grant which is derived from

[1] "Vallabharāja should, by the rules of Prakrit or Vernacular pronunciation, become *Vallabha-rāy* or *Ballaha-rāy*. The last is the same as the *Balharā* of the arbic" (*loc. cit.*, also p. 387 f.).

niyoga (office, employment) and seems to mean "governor." The word *rāja-vallabha* may signify favourites or subordinates of the Pallava king. It may also possibly refer to keepers of the royal horses or cows.[1] *Sañcarantaka* has already been explained. It is the same as *sañcāra* of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. For the appointment of spies in the king's own state to report to him about the conduct of his officials and subjects, see *Manusaṃhitā*, VII, 122.

The word *devabhoga* has been shown to be the same as devatrā, devasāt, devadeya and devadāya, and signifies "religious donation to a god." In numerous South Indian grants reference is made to the fact that the land is granted with the exception of lands previously given away as *devabhogahala*. The word *devahala* has been used in the same sense in the Peddavegi grant of Nandivarman II Śālankāyana (*above*, pp. 94-95).

The village of Uruvupalli in the Muṇḍarāṣṭra has not yet been satisfactorily identified. The boundary of the field granted is however clearly stated in the charter. The southern and eastern sides of the field were bounded by the river Suprayoga (or Suprayogā). At the northern extremity was a large tamarind tree in the hills; and the western side was bounded by the villages of Koṇḍamuruvudu, Keṇḍukūra and Kararupūra.

According to Fleet (*Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 5), "The seal connecting the plates bears the representation of what seems to be a dog, but in native opinion a lion." The figure is possibly that of a bull.

II. The Omgodu grant (No. 2) was issued from an unnamed *skandhāvāra* on the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the fourth regnal year of Siṃhavarman, son of Viṣṇugopa. By this record, the king granted the village of Oṃgoḍu (previously granted by his grandfather to a Brāh-

[1] *Cf.* *vallava* in the Pikira and Hirahadagalli grants, and *vallabha* in the Chendalur and Mangalur grants.

maṇa named Golaśarman of the Kāśyapa gotra) to a Brāhmaṇa named Devaśarman who was an inhabitant of Koṇḍura and belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra. Devaśarman was possibly a relative and heir of Golaśarman. The village of Koṇḍura seems to be the same as the native village of Śivaśarman, recipient of the Polamuru grant of Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman I, and of Casamiśarman, recipient of the Narasaraopet grant of Pallava Viṣṇugopavarman II. The identification of Oṃgoḍu in Karmarāṣṭra has already been discussed.

The grant is here referred to as *pūrva-bhoga-vivarjita*, which seems to be the same as *devabhoga-hala-varja* of other grants. It was endowed with all the *parihāras*, and is said to have been copied from the oral order of the Bhaṭṭāraka, *i.e.*, the king himself. According to Krishnasastri (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 252), the characters of this grant are of a later period than that used in Siṃhavarman's other grants. He is therefore inclined to think that the grant was copied from an original record about the beginning of the 7th century A.D.

In line 22 of the grant, reference is made to an eclipse[1] being the occasion of the grant. It is however contradicted by the details of the date, *viz.*, 5th lunar day of the bright half of Vaiśākha (ll. 31-32). Krishnasastri however tried to reconcile the two particulars by supposing "that the grant which was actually made on the new moon day of Chaitra, a possible day for the nearest solar eclipse, was engraved on the copper-plates five days after, *i.e.*, on the 5th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha" (*ibid*, p. 253).[2]

1 As regards the importance of eclipse with reference to donation, see Garuḍa-Purāṇa, Pūrva-Khaṇḍa, Ch. 51, 29 :—

ayane viṣuve c=aiva grahaṇe candra-sūryayoḥ,
saṃkrānty-ādiṣu kāleṣu dattaṃ bhavati c=ākṣayam.

2 According to Fleet (*J.R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 473), Siṃhavarman, son of Viṣṇugopa, is to be identified with the king of the same name who is known from the *Lokavibhāga*

III. The Pikira grant of Siṃhavarman was issued from the glorious and victorious camp at the king's residence at Menmātura in his 5th regnal year on the third *tithi* of the bright half of Aśvayuja with a hope for the increase of his longevity, strength and victory. The copper-plates were discovered at Nelalur in the Ongole taluka of the Guntur district.

By this record, the villagers of Pīkira in Muṇḍarāṣṭra, as well as the *adhyakṣas*, *vallavas* and *śāsana-sañcārins*, stationed in the rāṣṭra, were informed of the king's gift of the above village, endowed with all the immunities (but with the exception of lands previously granted for the enjoyment of gods) to a Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa named Vilāsaśarman who belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra. The king says here that, as the village of Pīkira has been made a Brahmadeya, it should be made immune with all *parihāras* by the king's officials who would also see that they be observed by others. Any one transgressing this order is warned to be liable to physical punishment. The word *adhyakṣa* means a "superintendent" or a "ruler" (Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. ; *Gītā*, IX, 10 ; *Kumārasambhava*, VI, 17).[1] *Vallava* means *gopa* according to Amara ; other Pallava inscriptions (*e.g.*, the Chendalur and Mangalur grants) have *vallabha*, which means *ghoṭaka-rakṣaka* according to Jaṭādhara (see *Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *pālaka*). According to Amara however *vallabha* means *adhyakṣa* which has been explained by a commentator as *gav-ādhyakṣa* (*ibid*, s.v.). *Vallabha* is generally taken to signify favourites of the king. *Śāsana-sañcārin* may be the same as *Śāsana-hara*, *i.e.*, messenger ; it may also be identical with *Sañcarantaka* of other inscriptions.

to have ascended the throne in A.D. 436-37. In A.D. (436-37 + 3 =) 439-40 however there was no solar eclipse on the newmoon day of Caitra.

1 Being connected with *vallava* (cowherd), may *adhyakṣa* signify *gav-ādhyakṣa*?

The seal of Siṃhavarman attached to the Pikira grant is very much worn, but bears in relief, on a counter-sunk surface, an animal (bull?) with mouth open and face to the proper left. It is represented as seated on a horizontal line that is in relief. It closely resembles the animal represented on the seal attached to the Uruvupalli grant. The tail and fore-legs of the animal are not seen (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 160).

IV. The Mangalur grant was issued from Daśanapura (identified with Darsi in the Nellore district), on the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of Caitra in the 8th year of Siṃhavarman's reign with the hope of increasing his longevity, strength and victory.

By this record, the king granted the village of Maṅgaḍūr or Maṅgaḷūr in Veṅgorāṣṭra as a Brahmadeya to the following Brāhmaṇas :—(1) Āpastambīya Rudraśarman of the Ātreya gotra, (2) Āpastambīya Tūrkkaśarman of the Vātsyāyana gotra, (3) Āpastambīya Dāmaśarman of the Kauśika gotra, (4) Āpastambīya Yajñaśarman of the Bhāradvāja gotra, (5) Āpastambīya Bhavakoṭigupta[1] of the Parāśara gotra, and (6) Vājasaneyi Bhartṛśarman, (7) Audamedha, (8) Chandoga, (9) Śivadatta, and (10) Hairaṇyakeśa Ṣaṣṭhīkumāra of the Gautama gotra.

The villagers of Maṅgaḍūr as well as the *adhyakṣas*, *vallabhas* and *Śāsana-sañcārins* were informed of the donation which was endowed with all the immunities, but was with the exception of the *devabhoga-hala*. The villagers and officials were ordered to observe the immunities themselves and to see also that others observed them. Transgressers of the order were liable to physical punishment.

Veṅgorāṣṭra seems to be the district of Veṅgī which lies between the rivers Krishna and Godavari. This district was

1 According to Śātātapa quoted in the *Udvāhatattva* and *Śrāddhatattva* (see *Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *gupta* and *varmā*) names ending in the word *gupta* properly belong to the Vaiśyas (*cf.* *gupta-dās-ātmakaṃ nāma praśastaṃ vaiśya-śūdrayoḥ*).

in the possession of the Śālaṅkāyanas as early as the time of Ptolemy (140 A.D.) ; but they became independent only after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas. At the time of Siṃhavarman, the southern fringe of the district may have been occupied by the Pallavas. It is however possible that the name Veṅgī extended over some parts of the country to the south of the Krishna at the time of the Śālaṅkāyanas.[1] Maṅgaḍūr was possibly situated in the southern fringe of the ancient kingdom of the Śālaṅkāyanas.

1 From the ninth century Veṅgī appears to have signified the kingdom of the Eastern Calukyas. The Telugu-Mahābhārata (Ādi, 1, 8) of the middle of the eleventh century refers to Rājahmundry in the Veṅgī country (*Journ. Dept. Let.*, XI, p. 81).

PART II

WESTERN DISTRICTS

CHAPTER I

EARLY KADAMBAS: MAYŪRAŚARMAN'S LINE

I

EARLY HISTORY OF THE KUNTALA REGION

The Kuntala country seems to have comprised the southernmost districts of the Bombay Presidency and the northern part of Mysore.[1] In a wider sense Kuntala possibly signified the whole of the Kanarese speaking area of Bombay, Madras and Mysore with the exception perhaps of the coast region. The position of the country is indicated by the fact that it was washed by the river Kṛṣṇavarṇā (*Ind. Ant.*, 1879, p. 18) and included Kurgod in the Bellary district (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 265), Gaṅgavāḍi in south Mysore (*Ep. Carn.*, IV, Hunsur 137), Nargund in the Dharwar district (*Ind. Ant.*, 1883, p. 47), Taragal in the Kothapur state (*ibid*, p. 98), Terdal in the Sangli state in South Bombay (*ibid*, 1883, p. 14) and Kuntalanagara (Nubattur in the north-west of Mysore).[2] From about the middle of the fourth century up to about the middle of the seventh, when the country was finally made a province of the Calukya empire, Kuntala or Karṇāṭa[3] is known to have been ruled by princes who belonged to the Kadamba family.

[1] *Cf.* a record of A.D. 1077 in *Ep. Carn.*, VIII, Sb. 262 : "In the centre of that middle world is the golden mountain to the south of which is the Bhārata land in which like the curls of the lady earth shines the Kuntala country to which an ornament (with various natural beauties) is Banavāsī." Some other inscriptions also prove that Kuntala was the district round Banavāsī. In the traditional lists of countries and peoples in the epics, *Purāṇas* and works like the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* however Kuntala and Banavāsī are sometimes mentioned separately.

[2] I am indebted for some references to Prof. Raychaudhuri. See *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 553.

[3] Kuntala and Karṇāṭa are used as synonymous in the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* by Bilhaṇa. Vikramāditya VI has been called both *kuntal-endu* (or *kuntal-endra*) and *karṇāṭ-endu* (IX, 41-42). Vaijayantī, identified with Banavāsī, has been described as a *tilaka* (that is to say, the capital) of the Karṇāṭa country in the Birur grant of Viṣṇuvar-

Some inscriptions of the Nagarakhanda Kadambas (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, IX, pp. 245, 285; *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 225, etc.) say that the Kadamba family originated from the Nandas who ruled over Kuntala and the adjoining districts of the Deccan.[1] But these inscriptions belong to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and very little importance can be put to the traditions recorded in them. It is however not quite impossible that the mighty Nandas held sway over considerable portions of the Deccan. Reference to the wealth of the Nandas in a Tamil poem (Aiyangar, *Beg. S. Ind. Hist.*, p. 89) and the existence of a city called Nander or Nau-Nand-Dehra on the Godavari (Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd ed., p. 142) may be supposed to support the above conjecture.

In the Sravana-Belgola inscriptions (*Ep. Carn.*, VIII, Sb. 1, 17, 54, 40, 108; III, Sr. 147, 148, etc.), there is a story of the migration of Chandragupta Maurya in Mysore in company of the Jain teacher Bhadrabāhu. An inscription in the Sorab taluka (*ibid*, VIII, Sb. 263) says that Nāgara-

man (*Ep. Carn.*, VI, p. 91). Karṇāṭa therefore signified the same territory as Kuntala or the country of which Kuntala formed a part. In the traditional lists hwever they are sometimes separately mentioned. Karṇāṭa has been taken to have been derived from a Dravidian original like *kar-nāḍu = kan-nāḍu* (black country) or *kara-nāḍu* (great country; *cf.* Mahā-rāṣṭra). Kuntala seems also to have been Sanskritised from an original like Karṇāṭa. The separate mention of Kuntala, Karṇāṭa, Banavāsī, Māhiṣaka (*cf.* Mahiṣa-viṣaya in a Kadamba grant), etc., in some of the traditional lists may possibly refer to the fact that these names originally signified separate geographical units abutting on one another. Sometimes however one of them may have formed the part of another; *cf.* the case of Tāmralipti which is mentioned in literature as an independent state, as a part of Sumha and also as a part of Vaṅga; also the case of Taxila (Raychaudhuri, *Indian Antiquities*, p. 186 f.) With the rise of Kanarese powers like the Calukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the name Karṇāṭa (sometimes also the name Kuntala) extended over a large part of western and southern Deccan. In the *Kaliṅgattu-paraṇi*, the Calukyas have been described as *Kuntalar*, "lords of Kuntala" (see *Tamil Lexicon*, Mad. Univ., s.v.). An inscription of Harihara II, dated in Śaka 1307 (*S. Ind. Ins.*, I, p. 158, verses 25-26) says that Vijaynagar (modern Hampi) belonged to the Kuntala viṣaya of the Karṇāṭa country.

[1] 'An inscription says that the nine Nandas, the Gupta family, and the Maurya kings, ruled over the land of Kuntala; then the Raṭṭ s, then the Calukyas, 'then Kalacurya Bijjala, and then Hoysala Vīra-Ballāla II (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 284, note).

khaṇḍa "was protected by the wise Candragupta, an abode of the usages of eminent Kṣatriyas." This record however belongs to the fourteenth century, and none attaches much importance to it. But these traditions, taken together with references to the Vamba-Mōriyar (Maurya upstarts) advancing as far south as the Podiyil Hill in the Tinnevelly district, may possibly be taken to suggest that the Maurya successors of the Nandas were master of considerable portions of Lower Deccan and the Far South. The above traditions are in a way confirmed by the discovery of the inscriptions of Aśoka at Siddāpur, Jatinga-Rameswar and Brahmagiri in the Chitaldrug district of Mysore. This goes to show that at least the greater part of the Kuntala country was within the dominions of the Mauryas at the time of Aśoka. According to a tradition recorded in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (XII, 41) and the *Dīpavaṃsa* (VIII, 10), the Buddhist teacher Rakkhita was deputed to Banavāsī (the capital of Kuntala or the district round the city) in the third century B. C. shortly after the Great Council held at Pāṭaliputra in the eighteenth year of Aśoka. Some scholars think that Kong-kin-na-pu-lo visited by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang is to be identified with the capital of the Kuntala country. If this identification is to be accepted, we have possibly another tradition regarding the Maurya occupation of Kuntala. Yuan Chwang says that there was to the south-west of the city a *stūpa*, said to have been built by Aśoka on the spot where Srutaviṃśatikoṭi made miraculous exhibitions and had many converts (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, II, pp. 237-38; Beal, *Bud. Rec. W. World*, II, pp. 253-55).[1]

We know very little of the Kuntala country for a long time after Aśoka. The Sātavāhana king Gautamīpura Sāta-

[1] The reference to an officer designated *rajjuka* in the Malavalli grant of Viṣṇukaḍḍa Cuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi possibly suggests that the Kuntala country was once ruled by the Mauryas. The *rajjukas* (=*rājūkas*) are many times referred to in the inscriptions of Aśoka.

karṇi, who ruled about the first quarter of the second century and claimed a sort of suzerainty over the whole of Dakṣiṇāpatha, possibly had some connections with Vaijayantī (Banavāsī),[1] the capital of ancient Kuntala or Karṇāṭa. The claim of Gautamīputra's lordship over the Malaya mountain (the southern part of the Western Ghats) may be a vague one; but the Nasik inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 71) of his eighteenth regnal year records an order of the Sātavāhana king when he was in "the camp of victory of the army at (or, of) Vaijayantī." This record was issued through the *amātya* Śivagupta who was, according to Rapson (*Catalogue*, p. lviii), apparently Gautamīputra's minister at Banavāsī. Rapson further identifies this Śivagupta with Śivaskandagupta mentioned in a Karle inscription of the same Sātavāhana king (*l. c. cit.*; Ep. Ind, VII, p. 64). There is as yet no further proof to make us definite as regards the occupation of Kuntala by the main line of the Sātavāhanas.

According to the *Purāṇas*, the Andhra (*i.e.*, Sātavāhana) dynasty had five different branches (*cf. andhrāṇāṃ saṃsthitāḥ pañca teṣāṃ vaṃśāḥ samāḥ punaḥ*; *Vāyu*, 99, 358). Indeed one branch of the Sātavāhanas, generally called the Cuṭu-Śātakarṇi family, is known from inscriptions, coins and literary references to have ruled at Vaijayantī (Banavāsī) in the Kuntala country before the Kadambas.

The Matsya list of the Andhra (=Sātavāhana) kings gives the name of Kuntala-Śātakarṇi. A commentator of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* clearly explains the term *kuntala* in the name Kuntala-Śātakarṇi-Sātavāhana as *kūntala-viṣaye*

[1] As shown by Fleet (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 278-79 note), the identification of Vaijayantī with Banavāsī is sufficiently established by two points. Firstly, a name of Banavāsī is known to have been Jayantī (see, *e.g.*, *Ind. Ant.*, IV, p. 207), which is very similar to Vaijayantī. Secondly, a Calukya record (*ibid*, XIX, p. 152) of A.D. 692 mentions the Edevoḷal district as situated in the north-east quarter in the vicinity of Vaijayantī, while other records prove that Edevoḷal was the name of the district round Hāṅgal which is just to the northeast of Banavāsī. The city seems to have been mentioned in the Geography of Ptolemy as Banausi.

jātatvāt tat-samākhyaḥ. A Sātavāhana king of Kuntala is mentioned in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* as having ordered the exclusive use of Prakrit in his harem. Prof. Raychaudhuri (*op. cit.*, p. 260) is inclined to identify this king with the celebrated Hāla, sometimes credited with the authorship of the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*. According to this scholar, the *Matsya-Purāṇa* which gives thirty names in the list of the Andhra or Sātavāhana kings mentions not only the kings of the main line, but includes also the kings of the branch that ruled in Kuntala.

Inscriptions discovered in the western and south-western districts of the Sātavāhana empire, that is to say, in Aparānta (*cf.* Kanheri, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, V, p. 86) and in Kuntala (*cf.* Banavāsī; *Ind. Ant.*, 1885, p. 331) including the north of Mysore (*cf.* Malavalli, Shimoga district, *Ep. Carn.*, VII, p. 251) testify to the existence of a line of the Sātavāhanas called the Cuṭukula which was in possession of South-Western Deccan before the conquest of Banavāsī by the Kadambas. The relation of the Cuṭu-Śātakarṇis with the Śātakarṇis of the main line is quite uncertain. But Rapson thinks that, as the Cuṭus were intimately connected with the Mahāraṭhis and Mahābhojas, it is probable that the branch of Kuntala was originally subordinate to the main line of the Sātavāhanas and that it shook off the yoke when the power of the imperial line began to decline after the death of Yajña Śātakarṇi (*op. cit.*, pp. xxi-ii, xlii).

A doubtful passage of the Devagiri grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 35), which seems to imply a connection of the Kadambas with the Nāgas possibly suggests that the Kuntala country was originally ruled by the Nāgas. These Nāgas however may be identical with the Cuṭu-Śātakarṇis who according to many scholars belonged to the Nāga dynasty. That the Cuṭu family had Nāga connections is clear from the Kanheri inscription which mentions Nāgamūlanikā,

mother of Skandanāga Śātaka and daughter of Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭu-kulānanda Śātakarṇi (Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. liii).

The following records of the Cuṭu-Śātakarṇis are said to have so far been discovered :—

I. Kanheri inscription of Hāritīputra Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭu-kulānanda Śātakarṇi (Rapson, *loc. cit.*). As the name of the king could not be read, this record was formerly attributed to the reign of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi. The donor mentioned in this inscription is Nāgamūlanikā who was the wife of a Mahārathi, the daughter of a Mahābhojī and of the great king, and the mother of Skandanāga-Śātaka. Rapson has no doubt that she is to be identified with the donor of the Banavasi inscription in which she is said to have been the daughter of king Hāritīputra Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭu-kulānanda Śātakarṇi whose name must have originally stood also in the Kanheri inscription.

II. Banavasi inscription of the twelfth year of Hāritīputra Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭu-kulānanda Śātakarṇi (Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. liii-iv). According to Bühler's interpretation of the record (*Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 334) the king had a daughter named Śivaskandanāgaśrī who made the grant of a *nāga*,[1] a tank and a *vihāra* (monastery) on the first lunar day of the seventh fortnight of Hemanta. With respect to these gifts *amaco* (*amātya*, *i.e.*, minister) Khada Sāti (Skanda Sāti) was the Superintendent of work (*kamaṃtika*). The *Nāga* was made by Naṭaka (Nartaka), the pupil of *ācārya* Idamoraka (Indramayūra) of Saṃjayantī. According to the *Mahābhārata* (II, 31, 70) Saṃjayantī was situated near Karahāṭa which may be the same as modern Karhāḍ. Saṃjayantī

[1] "In Southern India, carved stone-images of the Nāga are set up to this day, often at the entrance of a town or village, for public adoration, and ceremonial offerings are made to the living cobra. Groups of Nāga-kals (snake-stones) are to be found in almost every village, heaped up in a corner of the court-yard of a Śiva temple or placed under the shade of a venerable Pipal (Ficus Religiosa) or a Margosa (Melia Azadirachta) tree" (*An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1918-19, p. 25 and plates).

may possibly be identified with Vaijayantī or Banavāsī which was also called Jayantī. The *Mahābhārata* mentions the city of Saṃjayantī in connection with Sahadeva's *digvijaya* in the south, along with the Pāṇḍyas, Keralas and Drāviḍas.

Rapson, on the other hand, thinks that the proper name of the donor is not mentioned in the inscription, but she is said to have been the daughter of the great king and to have been associated in the donation with Prince Śivaskandanāgaśrī. He further suggests that the donor is styled Mahābhojī or, it is possible, that the passage *mahābhuvīya mahārāja-bālikāya* may be taken to mean "of the daughter of the Mahābhojī and of the great king." If the latter interpretation be accepted, the epithets—except *mahārathinī*—would be the same as in the Kanheri inscription. Rapson has little doubt that the prince Śivaskandanāgaśrī of this inscription is identical with Skandanāga-Śātaka of the other inscription. Thus, according to him the donors mentioned in the Kanheri and Banavasi inscriptions must be one and the same person, *viz.*, the daughter of king Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭu-kulānanda Śātakarṇi. He further identifies this Śivaskandanāgaśrī = Skandanāga-Śātaka with king Śivaskandavarman mentioned in the Malavalli record (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, p. 252) of an early unknown Kadamba king, and says that the prince subsequently came to the throne of Vaijayantī as the heir of his maternal grandfather and was possibly the last reigning member of the Cuṭu dynasty. The identification of the slightly similar names, *viz.*, Śivaskandanāgaśrī, Skandanāga-Śātaka and Śivaskandavarman, however, cannot be accepted as certain.

III. The Malavalli inscription of the first regnal year of (Mānavya-sagotra Hāritīputra Viṣṇukaḍḍa Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi) (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, p. 251). The inscription records the grant of a village. The king is here called rājā of the city of Vaijayantī. The inscription is followed on

the same pillar by an early Kadamba record which mentions Mānavya-sagotra Hāritīputra Vaijayantī-pati Śivaskandavarman as a previous ruler of the locality. If judged by the standard of palaeography, the second record, according to Bühler (*Ind. Ant.*, XXV, p. 28), cannot be much later than the first. In this connection, it is also noticed that the famous Talgunda inscription of the Kadamba king Śāntivarman refers to Sātakarṇi (very probably a king of the Cuṭu family) and other kings having worshipped in a Śiva temple at Sthānakundūra (Talgunda). It has therefore been suggested that the Kuntala country passed into the possession of the Kadambas directly from the hands of the Cuṭu Śātakarṇis (Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. lv), and the following genealogy of the Cuṭu dynasty has been drawn from the above records: —

(1) Vaijayantīpura-rāja Mānavya-sagotra Hāritīputra Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi (Kanheri, Banavasi and Malavalli records) + Mahābhojī

|

Mahārathi + Nāgamūlanikā.

|

(2) Vaijayantī-pati Mānavya-sagotra Hāritīputra Śivaskandavarman (Malavalli record).

We have already said that the identification Śivaskandanāgaśrī = Skandanāga-Śātaka = Śivaskandavarman is not quite happy. It has moreover been pointed out (see *above*, p. 168, note 2) that, on linguistic consideration, the Mallavalli record of year 1 appears to be later than the Banavasi record of year 12. The language of the Banavasi inscription resembles that of the records of the Sātavāhanas and Ikṣvākus; the language of the Malavalli inscription is, on the other hand, very similar to that of the grants of Pallava Śivaskandavarman. I therefore think that the Banavasi and Malavalli records belong to two different

Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇis. This suggestion is also supported by the palaeographical standard of the Banavasi inscription. According to Bühler (*Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 331 ff.), the record is to be placed about the end of the first or the beginning of the second century.

From the fact that, according to the evidence of the Talgunda record, Mayūraśarman, the first king of the Kadamba family, received the *paṭṭabandha-saṃpūjā* along with the country from the Prehāra (river?) up to the western (Arabian) sea from the Pallava kings of Kāñcī, it appears that for a time the Kuntala country passed into the possession of the Pallavas. This may have taken place about the time of the great Śivaskandavarman and his father whose direct rule is known to have extended as far as the Andhrāpatha (*i.e.*, the Andhra country with its capital at Dhaṃñakaḍa = Dhānyakaṭaka) in the north and the Sātāhaniraṭṭha (*i.e.*, the Bellary district) in the north-west. We have also shown (see *above*, pp. 168, 184) that a comparison of the language of the Malavalli record with that of the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli grants would place the rule of Mayūraśarman, the progenitor of the Kadambas, not long after the accession of Śivaskandavarman about the beginning of the fourth century. Since the language of the Malavalli record of Viṣṇukaḍḍa Cuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi who, as we have suggested, appears to have been different from the earlier Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi of the Banavasi inscription, closely resembles the language of the Chandravalli record of Mayūraśarman and the Malavalli grant which seems to belong either to the same king or to his immediate successor, and does not appear to be earlier than the grants of Śivaskandavarman, I think it not impossible that the later members of the Cuṭu dynasty of Kuntala acknowledged the suzerainty of the powerful early Pallava rulers of Kāñcī.

No coins have as yet been attributed to any of the Cuṭu kings known from inscriptions. Some large lead coins from Karwar bearing the title *cuṭu-kul-ānaṃda* in the legend are doubtfully assigned to an earlier feudatory member of the Cuṭu family (Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. xliii). The reading *hāritī* as a portion of the legend on some lead coins found in the Anantapur and Cuddapah districts (*loc. cit.*) is not quite certain and therefore does not justify in the present state of our knowledge the attribution of those coins to any of the Cuṭu kings.

Besides the coins bearing the legend *raño cuṭu-kul-ānaṃdasa*, there are other coins discovered from the Karwar district with the legend *raño muḍ-ānaṃdasa*. The expressions *cuṭu-kul-ānanda* and *muḍ-ānanda* have been thought to signify respectively " Joy of the family [1] of the Cuṭus " and " Joy of the Muṇḍas." These titles resemble in character that of the Mahārathi Aṅgika-kula-vardhana, " the cherisher of the race of Aṅga." They have been taken to be dynastic. According to Rapson, these may be designations attached to particular localities or titles derived from the home or race of the rulers. Cuṭu evidently signifies the Cuṭu-Sātakarni family. The Muṇḍas are frequently mentioned in Sanskrit literature. The *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* (IV, 24, 14) speaks of thirteen Muṇḍa kings who ruled after the Andhras, (*i.e.*, Sātavāhanas). " It is perhaps, more probable that the kings bearing these titles were members of two families of feudatories in the early period of the dynasty, and that, at a later period, on the decline of the empire, one of these families gained the sovereign power in the western and southern provinces, while the eastern provinces remained in the possession of the Sātavāhana family " (Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii).

[1] In place of *kula* of the inscriptions, Rapson reads *kaḍa* on the coins and translates the term as " city " (*op. cit.*, p. lxxxiv).

II

ORIGIN OF THE KADAMBAS [1]

In almost all Kadamba inscriptions the Kadambas claim to have belonged to the Mānavya gotra and call themselves Hāritīputra.[2] The designation Mānavyagotra-Hāritīputra was evidently borrowed from the Cuṭu Śātakarṇis who ruled over Kuntala before the rise of the Kadambas. From the Banavasi grant of the eighth year of Mṛgeśavarman's reign (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, pp. 35-36) the Kadambas seem to have actually belonged to the Āṅgirasa gotra.[3] This suggestion is possibly supported by the fact that they are called *try-ārṣa-vartma* (see verse 3 of the Talgunda inscription ; *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 31 ff.) which seems to refer to the three *pravaras* of the Āṅgirasa gotra, *viz.*, Āṅgirasa, Vāśiṣṭha and Bārhaspatya (*Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *pravara*).

According to a very late inscription belonging to the Kadambas of Hangal (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 117), the Kadamba family originated from the three-eyed and four-armed Kadamba. This Kadamba is said to have sprung into being under a Kadamba tree from a drop of sweat that fell on the ground from the forehead of Śiva. Kadamba's son was Mayūravarman who conquered the earth by the power of his sword and invincible armour. Another inscription (*ibid*, XI, Dg. 35) says that Mayūravarman himself was born under an auspicious Kadama tree, with an eye

[1] This paper was originally published in *Ind. Cult.*, IV, p. 118 ff.

[2] As sons of Manu, all men may claim the Mānavya gotra. A Calukya grant says, " Svāyambhuva Manu's son was Mānavya from whom came all those who belonged to the Mānavya gotra (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 339). Mānavya's son was Harita ; his son was Pañcaśikhi-Hāriti.

[3] Did the Kadambas claim connection with the Āṅgirasa Hāritas who are said to have descended, through Ikṣvāku, from Manu? (See *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 217, note).

on his forehead. He is there described as the son of Rudra and the earth. His family became famous as Kadamba owing to the fact that he grew up in the shade of a Kadamba tree. An inscription of A.D. 1077 (*ibid*, VIII, Sb. 262) gives still more interesting details. There Mayūravarman seems to have been described as the son of the famous Ānanda-jina-vratīndra's sister [1] and as born under the famous Kadamba tree, and to have had the other name Trilocana. A kingdom having been procured for him from the Śāsanadevī and a forest being cleared and formed into a country for that prince, a crown composed of peacock's feathers was placed on his head. From this crown, the prince obtained the name Mayūravarman.

These mythical accounts do not differ materially from those recorded in the inscriptions of the Later Kadambas of Goa. Some of the Halsi and Degamve grants (*e.g.*, *ibid*, VII, Sk. 236) attribute the origin of the Kadamba family to the three-eyed and four-armed Jayanta otherwise named Trilocona-Kādamba. This Jayanta is said to have sprung from a drop of sweat that fell on the ground near the roots of a Kadamba tree, from the forehead of Śiva when the god killed Tripura after a hard fight.

An inscription of the same period belonging to the Later Kadambas of Nagarakhanda (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, pp. 245, 272, 285) gives a slightly different story. It says that king Nanda worshipped Śiva for many days with the desire of getting a son. One day some Kadamba flowers suddenly fell down from the sky and a heavenly voice assured him of his getting two brilliant sons in the near future. Thus according to this tradition, the Kadambas claimed relation with the famous Nanda kings of Pāṭaliputra. Some other late Kadamba grants also attribute a northern origin to the

[1] Here is possibly a reference to the claim of having been related with the Ānanda kings of Kandarapura For the Ānandas, see *above*, p. 50 ff; also my note in *J. R. A. S.*, October, 1934, p. 737 ff.

Kadambas. The Kargudari record of the Hangal Kadambas asserts that Mayūravarman came from the Himalayan regions and brought from Ahicchatra eighteen Brāhmaṇas whom he established in Kuntala (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, pp. 560-561)[1] According to another record (*Ep. Ind.*, XVI, pp. 354, 360) Mayūravarman is said to have established his power on the summits of the Himavat mountain.

All these traditions are of little historical value. All they may indicate is that the progenitor of the Kadamba family was named Mayūra and that the family-name had an accidental connection with the Kadamba tree. In connection with the tradition regarding the three-eyed Trilocana-Kādamba, it is interesting to note that there are similar accounts of a mythical Trilocana-Pallava in later Pallava inscriptions. This three-eyed Pallava is said to have brought some Brāhmaṇas from Ahicchatra and to have settled them to the east of Śrīparvata where he made seventy *agrahāras* (*An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1908, pp. 82-38). Later Kadamba inscriptions, as we have noticed, attribute this Brāhmaṇa emigration to Mayūravarman. These facts seem to show that the mythical traditions about the two Pallava and Kadamba Trilocanas had a common origin, though they possibly depended on the development of each other (Moraes, *Kadambakula*, p. 8 note). As has already been suggested, the evidence of the Mysore records of the twelfth century stating that the Nanda king ruled over Kuntala (Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 3), the reference to the wealth of the Nandas in a Tamil poem and the existence of a city called Nau Nand-Dehra in the South may suggest that the Nanda dominions embraced considerable portions of Southern India. In the present state of our knowledge however it is not possible to prove a genealogical connection

1 Another record says (*Bomb. Gaz.*, p. 561) that Mukaṇṇa-Kadamba (the three-eyed Kadambas) brought 12,000 Brāhmaṇas of 32 gotras from Ahicchatra and established them at the Sthāṇugūḍhapura (*i.e.*, Talgunda).

between the Nandas and the Kadambas. Moreover, the Kadambas, as we shall presently see, were originally Brāhmaṇas, while the Nandas are known from the *Purāṇas* to have been Kṣatriyas with an admixture of Śūdra blood.

It is clear that all the later traditions connected with the origin of the name Kadamba developed on a reference in a much earlier Kadamba record. It is the Talgunda inscription of king Śāntivarman who ruled about the middle of the fifth century, that is to say, about a century after the establishment of the Kadamba power in Kuntala by Mayūra about the middle of the fourth century A.D. This inscription records (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 31) that the Kadambas were so named owing to their tending a Kadamba tree that grew near their house (*cf.* ...... *gṛha-samīpa-saṁrūḍha-vikaśat-kadamb-aika-pādapam, tad-upacāravat=tad=āsya taroḥ sānāmya-sādharmyam=asya tat prāvavṛte sātīrthya-viprāṇāṃ prācuryatas=tad=viśeṣaṇam*), and that they belonged to the *dvija-kula* (Brāhmaṇa family). In this *Kadamba-kula* was born a person named Mayūraśarman, the best of the Brāhmaṇas (*cf. evam=āgate kadamba-kule śrīmān=babhūva dvijottamaḥ nāmato mayūraśarm=eti*). There seems to be nothing very strange and unbelievable in this simple account. The statement that the Kadambas were Brāhmaṇas is also supported by the evidence of the earliest Kadamba record, the Chandravalli inscription of Mayūra (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A.R., 1929, p. 50). In this inscription, the name of the Kadamba king has been given as Mayūra-*śarman*, and not as Mayūra-*varman* which form we find only in the inscriptions of the Later Kadambas. Since *śarman* was used with the names of Brāhmaṇas and *varman* with that of Kṣatriyas (*cf. śarma-vad=brāhmaṇasya syāt,* Manu, II, 32 ; *śarmā devaś=ca viprasya varmā trātā ca bhū-bhujaḥ,* etc., Yama quoted in *Śabdakalpadruma,* s.v. *śarmā*), the progenitor of the Kadamba family was a Brāhmaṇa according

to the earliest known Kadamba record, and there is no reason to doubt the truth of the statement. It is not impossible that the Kadambas were originally Brāhmaṇas who migrated from Northern India like many other South Indian royal families, took service under the Sātavāhanas and eventually carved out a principality in the Kuntala country.[1] That they later gave themselves as Kṣatriya is proved by the fact that not only the names of the succeeding kings ended in *varman*, but Mayūraśarman was himself made Mayūravarman in all later records of the family. Their case may be compared with that of the Sena kings of Bengal who styled themselves as Brahma-Kṣatriya which possibly means "Brāhmaṇa first and Kṣatriya afterwards," that is to say, " Brāhmaṇa by birth and Kṣatriya by profession."

It is interesting in this connection to note that, like the Kadambas, there were and still are many tribes and families in India, named after particular trees. The Śākyas were a branch of the Ikṣvāku family and were so called owing to their connection with the Śaka tree (*cf. śaka-vṛkṣa-praticchannaṃ vāsaṃ yasmāc=ca cakrire, tasmād=ikṣvāku-vaṃśyās=te bhuvi śākyāḥ prakīrtitāḥ*; *Saundaranandakāvya*, I, 24). Coins of a tribe or family called Oduṃbara have been discovered in the Pathankot region (Kangra and Hosyarpur districts according to Smith, *Catalogue*, pp. 160-61) and have been assigned to *circa* 100 B.C. (Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 11). Oduṃbara (Sanskrit *Auduṃbara*) appears to be connected with the Udumbara or fig tree. A tribe named Arjunāyana has been mentioned Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (XIV, 25) and the Allahabad piller

[1] Had the Kadambas some sort of relation with the Nīpa (=Kadamba) family which ruled, according to a tradition recorded by Kālidāsa (*Raghu*, VI, verses 45-51), over the district round Mathurā? G. M. Moraes says (*Kadambakula*, p. 10). "The very name of the family suggests that they (*i.e.*, the Kadambas) were the natives of the South. For the Kadamba tree is common only in the Deccan." It is however a misrepresentation. The Kadamba tree is largely found also in other parts of India.

pillar inscription of Samudragupta (*circa* 350 A.D.). Many coins belonging to this tribe have also been discovered (*Indian Coins*, p. 11). These Arjunāyanas seem to have been called after the Arjuna tree. The name of the Sibi tribe may also be connected with Śivi or the birch tree. Some coins bearing the legend *vaṭasvaka* are assigned to about B.C. 200 (*ibid*, p. 14). Bühler has explained the legend as denoting the Vaṭa (fig. tree) branch of the Aśvaka tribe (*Ind. Stud.*, III, p. 46). It is interesting in this connection to notice that even at the present time the Lari Goālās of Chhota-Nagpur, the Gorāits, Khariās, Kharwars, the Kumhārs of Lohardaga, Muṇḍas, Nāgesars, Orāons, Pans and many other tribes have septs or sections amongst them named after the famous Indian tree Vaṭa (Ficus Indica). (See H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, II, 1892, pp. 51, 55, 77, 78, 86, 103, 111, 113, 115, etc.) A consideration of modern tribal names seems to suggest that the above tree-names had originally some sort of totemistic significance.

We have already mentioned several Indian tribes and castes bearing the name Vaṭa. There are many such tribes and castes in India, which go by the names of particular trees. Tribal septs are named after the Ḍumur (fig. tree), bamboo, Palm tree, Jari tree, Mahua tree, Baherwar tree, Kussum tree, Karma tree and many other trees (Riseley, *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 78, 87, 96, 97, 103, 105, etc.). Some of these are actually totems, while others appear to have lost their original totemistic significance.[1]

[1] Totemistic ideas appear to be gradually changed with time. Among the present day Santals, only traces of their primitive totemism are to be found. "None of these appear to be associated with the idea of culture-heroes as amongst the Amer-indians. The folklore shows indeed some stories centering round the plants (betel-palm, Panjaum tree, Sabai grass) and animals (tiger, jackal, leopard, crab). Besides these, some of the clans' names centre round industrial objects and articles of usefulness, such as chain, earthen vessel, etc. These would be more in line with a belief in objects possessing *mana* and venerated as such and gradually getting

It however cannot be proved in the present state of our knowledge whether the Kadambas and the other tribes and families with tree-names were totemistic in the true sense of the term. In this connection it is interesting to note what has been said about the totemism prevalent among the present-day Santals who must originally have been a totemistic people. "Totemism in the truest form is not present amongst the Santals. The Santals of our days do not believe in the actual descent of a clan from its totem, and the few legends of the Santals about the origin of some of their clans do not point to any belief in the descent of men from their totems. All that they indicate is that the totem animal and plant had some accidental connection with the birth of the ancestor of the clan. As for example, the sept Pāuriā is called after the pigeon and Choṛe after the lizard; and the story is that on the occasion of a famous tribal hunting party the members of these two septs failed to kill anything but pigeons and lizards; so they were called by the names of these animals."[1] It is interesting also to note that according to the Talgunda inscription and many other later Kadamba records the Kadamba tree "had some accidental connection with the birth" of the family of Mayūraśarman, the ancestor of the Kadambas, exactly as the pigeon and lizard in the family traditions of the two Santal septs called Pāuriā (pigeon) and Choṛe (lizard).

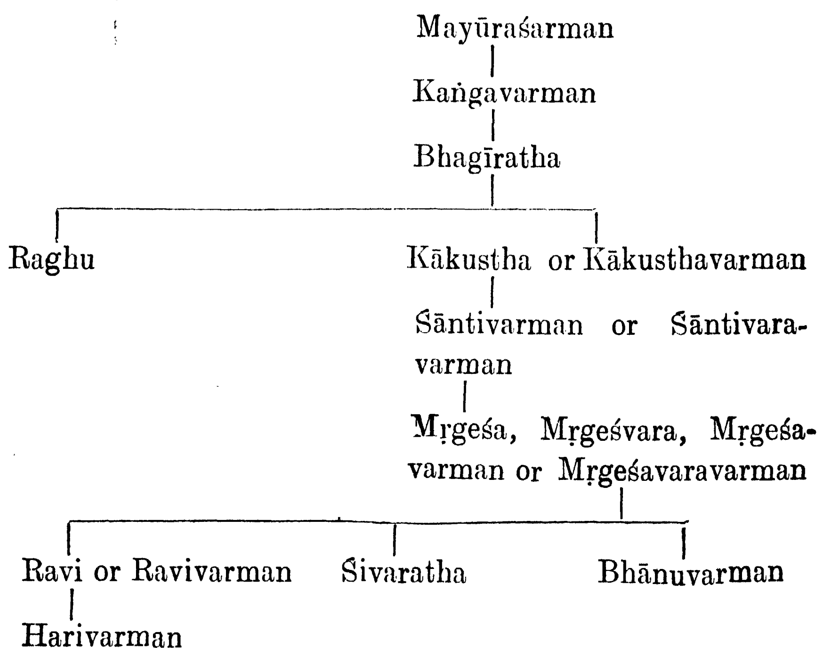
associated with exogamous sub-divisions which might have had a hand in the invention or diffusion of those useful objects There is no seasonal recurring ceremonial round these objects meant for the preservation or propagation of animals or plants venerated as ancestors as in Australia. There is indeed some taboo to the use by the particular subclan of the plant and animal venerated as its ancestor. The animal and plant thus venerated are taboo to the clans; none can hunt it, nor can they partake of its flesh. But for the observation of this taboo, the Santals are in no sense plant and animal worshippers" (P. C. Biswas, *Primitive Religion*, etc., *of the Santals*; *Journ. Dept. Let.*, XXVI, p. 6).

[1] *Ibid*, pp. 57-58.

III

Genealogy and Chronology of the Early Kadambas of Mayūraśarman's Line

The following genealogy of the Early Kadambas is established by the Talgunda inscription of Śāntivarman and the numerous records of his son, grandson and great-grandson (see *Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 22):—



In connection with the discussion on the date of Pallava Śivaskandavarman (*above*, pp. 161-68; also *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XII, p. 297 ff.), I have tried to prove that Śivaskandavarman ruled in the first quarter of the fourth century A.D. I have also suggested that a comparison of the language of the Chandravalli record

(*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A.R., 1929, p. 50) with that of the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli grants would place the reign of Kadamba Mayūraśarman only a little later than the accession of Śivaskandavarman. The use of *ś* (l.1) and the numerous double-consonants like *mma* (l.1), *tr*, ll (l.2), *sth*, *nd* (l.3), etc., appear to prove that the Chandravalli record was engraved after, but not long after, the execution of the grants of Śivaskandavarman. I therefore think that scholars (see *Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 95 f.; *Kadambakula*, chart opp. p. 15) are justified in placing Mayūraśarman about the middle of the fourth century A.D. We may not therefore be far from the mark if we suppose that the date of Mayūra's accession lies somewhere between A.D. 320 and 350.[1]

According to the evidence of the Talgunda inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 31 ff.) of the Kadamba king named Śāntivarman, this Mayūraśarman was followed on the Kadamba throne by his son Kaṅgavarman, grandson Bhagīratha and great-grandson Raghu ; Raghu was succeeded by his brother whose name was Kākusthavarman. Supposing that Mayūraśarman's reign began about the middle of the fourth century and that the reign-periods of the four predecessors of Kākusthavarman (*viz.*, Mayūraśarman, Kaṅgavarman, Bhagīratha and Raghu) together covered about a century, we arrive at about the middle of the fifth century for the period of Kākustha.

The Halsi grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 23) of Kākusthavarman, the *Yuvarāja* (crown-prince) of the Kadambas, was issued in the eightieth year.[2] Fleet says (*Bomb. Gaz.*,

[1] According to the Talgunda inscription, Mayūraśarman received the *paṭṭabandha-sampūjā* as well as the land between the Western sea and the Prehāra from the Pallava kings of Kāñcī. We have already suggested that this may have taken place about the time of the great Śivaskandavarman and his father who were possibly suzerains of the whole land bounded by the Arabian sea in the west. See *above*, p. 184 n.

[2] In *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 13, it has been suggested to be the eightieth year from the conquest of the Nāgas by Kṛṣṇavarman (I), who however cannot be 80 years earlier than Kākusthavarman.

I, ii, p. 291), "The year purports by strict translation to be his own eightieth year. But it cannot be the eightieth year of his *Yuvarāja*-ship; and, even if such a style of dating were usual, it can hardly be even the eightieth year of his life. It must therefore be the eightieth year from the *Paṭṭabandha* of his ancestor Mayūraśarman, which is mentioned in the Talgunda inscription." The beginning of Kākustha's reign thus falls more than eighty years after Mayūraśarman's accession (somewhere between *circa* 320 and 350 A.D.). The record issued when Kākusthavarman was a Yuvarāja thus seems to have been inscribed some time between *circa* 400 and 430 A.D.[1]

Kākusthavarman was succeeded by his son Śāntivarman during whose reign the Talgunda record was engraved. Mṛgeśavarman was the son and successor of Śāntivarman. Thus the two reigns of Kākusthavarman and of Śāntivarman intervened between the date of the Halsi grant when Kākustha was a Yuvarāja (some time between A.D. 400 and 430) and the date of Mṛgeśavarman's accession. But since we do not know the precise date of Mayūraśarman's accession and the exact reign-periods of Kākusthavarman and Śāntivarman, it is difficult to conjecture any definite date for the accession of Mṛgeśavarman. It is however almost certain that Mṛgeśa's rule did not begin earlier than A.D. 415.

Mṛgeśavarman's last known date is year 8. He was succeeded by his son Ravivarman whose last known inscriptional date is year 35. Ravivarman's son and successor was Harivarman whose Sangoli grant (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 165 ff.) was dated in the eighth year of his reign. The date of this record is calculated to be either Tuesday, the

[1] Prof. Raychaudhuri suggests to me that, since this is the only instance of an era being used in the Kadamba records and since Kākustha is known to have had relations with the Guptas, the year 80 may possibly be referred to the Gupta era. The suggestion suits our chronology, as the date then falls in 400 A.D.

22nd September, 526, or Thursday, the 21st September, 545 A.D. So Harivarman ascended the Kadamba throne either in 519-520 or in 538-539.[1] Since Ravivarman's reign of about 35 years intervened between the end of Mṛgeśavarman's rule and the beginning of Harivarman's reign, Mṛgeśavarman does not appear to have ended his rule before (538 – 35 =) 503 A.D. Thus we see that the reign of Mṛgeśavarman fell in the period between A.D. 415 and 503.

Now, the Banavasi grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, pp. 35-36) of Mṛgeśavarman gives a verifiable date. This record is said to have been dated in *rājyasya tṛtīye varṣe pauṣe saṃvatsare kārttikamāsa-bahula-pakṣe daśamyān=tithau uttara-bhādra-pada-nakṣatre.* The date is therefore Pauṣa year ; month of Kārttika ; Bahula or the dark fortnight ; tenth lunar day ; and Uttara-bhādrapada nakṣatra. This date fell in the third regnal year of Mṛgeśavarman. It must first be observed that *Bahula* is here apparently a mistake for *Śukla.* The lunar mansion called Uttara-bhādrapada may have chance to occur on the tenth lunar day only of the bright half, and not of the dark half, of the month of Kārttika. We are therefore to find out a Pauṣa year in the period between A.D. 415 and 503, in which the lunar mansion Uttara-bhādrapada occurred on the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika.

Between A.D. 415 and 503, Pauṣa years, counted according to the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter, occurred in A.D. 425, 437, 448, 460, 472, 484 and 496; but calculations show that the lunar mansion Uttara-bhādrapada occurred in Kārttika-śukla-daśamī only in A.D. 437 and in 472. On October 24, A.D. 437, Śukla-daśamī continued till 2-5 A.M. in the night; and Uttara-bhādrapada nakṣatra began about

[1] Mr. K. N. Dikshit who has edited the Sangoli grant (Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 165 f.) rightly prefers the second date, *viz.*, A.D. 538.

12-15 P.M. in the day. On October 27, A.D. 472, Śukla-daśamī continued till 8-57 P.M. in the night and Uttara-bhādrapada began about 2-31 P.M. in the day. It therefore appears that Mṛgeśavarman ascended the Kadamba throne either in A.D. 434-435 or 469-470.[1]

Scholars (see *Anc. Hist. Dec.*, pp. 95-96; *Kadambakula*, chart opp. p. 15) generally place Mṛgeśavarman's accession in *circa* 475 A.D. We would therefore prefer the second alternative, *viz.*, 469-70 A.D.

In this connection we should also note that a Halsi grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 24) of king Mṛgeśavarman is dated on the full-moon day of Kārttika in his eighth regnal year which was a Vaiśākha saṃvatsara. We have already seen that the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika of his third year fell in the Pauṣa saṃvatsara. This fact seems to show that the same lunar day of Kārttika in the next Vaiśākha saṃvat-sara fell in his seventh regnal year. Are we to suppose that the eighth year of Mṛgeśavarman's reign began in between the Śukla-daśamī and the full-moon day of Kārttika ? Mṛgeśavarman would then appear to have ascended the throne on a day between these two *tithis*.

There were several branches [2] of the Early Kadambas, the most important of them—besides the direct line of

[1] I am indebted for some calculations to Mr. D. N. Mukherji, B.Sc., of the Daulatpur College (Khulna district, Bengal). The calculations are on the heliacal rising system as followed by Dikshit in Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III). After the publication of my paper on this subject (*Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIV, p, 344), I have noticed that in a foot-note at page 353 of his *List*, the late Mr. Sewell said, " Mṛgeśavarman may have come to the throne in A.D. 471. For an inscription of his third year bears a date in A.D. 473, given as in the year Pauṣa, which, in the twelve year cycle = Kīlaka." Sewell appears to have calculated the Pauṣa years according to the mean motions of Jupiter.

[2] It will be seen that the lines of Mayūraśarman and Kṛṣṇavarman I and a few other lines one of them being that to which king Māndhātṛvarman belonged, ruled more or less simultaneously over different parts of the Kadamba country. The reference to Calukya Kīrtivarman's victory over the *kadamba-kadamba-kadambaka* (combined army of a confederacy of Kadamba princes ?) is interesting to note in this connection. Buddhadatta, the celebrated author of the *Vinayavinicchaya*, is 'said to have flourished at Uragapura (modern Uṛaiyūr near Tanjore) about the fifth century

Mayūraśarman—being the line of Kṛṣṇavarman I. Since the exact relation of these branch lines with the main line, that is to say, with the line of Mayūraśarman, is not as yet definitely and unquestionably settled, I think it wiser to deal with them separately.

A.D. In the *nigamana* of that work, he says that he resided in the *vihāra* of Veṇhudāsa at Bhūtamaṅgala-on-Kāverī in the Colaraṭṭha and composed the book when the country was being ruled by Accutaccutavikkanta who was a *kaḷamba-kula nandana*. The *ṭīkā* says that the Cola-rāja Accutavikkama who was *kaḷamba-kula-vaṃsa-jāta* was ruling the Coḷa-raṭṭha. It has been suggested that king Acyutavikrama belonged to the Kadamba family (see *Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 71-74). Some scholars think that he was a Kalabhra. The suggestion that the Cola country was ruled by a Kadamba or Kalabhra king about the fifth century however cannot be accepted without further evidence. *Kaḷamba-kula-nandana*, *i.e.*, delight of the Kaḷamba=Kadamba (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 558, note 2) or Kadamba family, may suggest that Acyutavikrama's mother was a Kadamba princess. In this connection it is interesting to note that a Pallava king (Pallava-rāja) named Gopāladeva has been described in the Haldipur grant (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 173 ff.) as *kaikeya-vaṃś-odbhava* which has been taken to indicate that Gopāladeva was connected with the Kaikeyas on his mother's side. Calukya Jayasimha III is described in the records of the family as being born in the Pallava lineage (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 333), and Fleet suggests that his mother was a Pallava princess. Fleet also suggested (*ibid.* p. 349) that Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarman, "an ornament of the Ādi-mahā-Bappūra-vaṃśa," was a son of Calukya Maṅgaleśa and was connected with the Bappūra or Batpūra family on his mother's side. It is also not impossible that the *Kamboja-vaṃśa tilaka* Rājyapāla of the Irda grant is the same as king Rājyapāla of the Pāla dynasty, whose mother was a Kamboja princess. See my note in *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, X, p. 227 f.

IV

MAYŪRAŚARMAN

We have seen that according to the Talgunda inscription the Kadambas belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family devoted to the study of the Vedas. There the family has been described as *tryārṣa-vartma, hāritī-putra* and *mānavya-gotra*. In this family of *dvijas* was born an illustrious and learned Brāhmaṇa named Mayūraśarman who went with his preceptor Vīrasiṃha to Kāñcīpura, the Pallava capital, in order to prosecute his Vedic studies. There Mayūraśarman was drawn in a quarrel with the Pallavas, [1] and considering the illtreatment he received a dishonour to the Brāhmaṇas, "he unseathed a flaming sword eager to conquer the world." He then easily defeated the frontier guards of the Pallava kings (*antaḥ-pālān pallav-endrāṇāṃ*) [2] and established himself in a dense forest near Śrīparvata. His power gradually increased, and he levied tributes from the Bṛhad-Bāṇas [3] and other kings. At length a compromise

[1] Kielhorn thinks that *aśvasaṃstha* is the same as *aśvāroha*, " a horseman" (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 26). May the passage *aśva-saṃsthena kalahena* suggest that the quarrel of Mayūraśarman was in connection with a horse sacrifice (see *above*, p. 184, note). Among the Early Pallavas Śivaskandavarman and Kumāraviṣṇu of the Omgodu (no. 1) grant are the only kings known to have performed the Aśvamedha. This fact also appears to suggest that Mayūraśarman lived about the time of the great Śivaskandavarman who is known to have held sway over the greater portion of Lower Deccan. Kumāraviṣṇu seems to have ruled about the end of the fourth century.

[2] The plural number in *pallavendrāṇāṃ*, etc., suggests that the quarrel of Mayūraśarman was not limited within the reign-period of a single Pallava king of Kāñcī, but continued in the succeeding reigns. *Antaḥ-pāla* (Warden of the Marches) is mentioned in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (Samasastry's ed., pp. 20, 247). The salary of an *Antaḥ-pāla* was equal to that of a Kumāra, Paura-vyavahārika, Rāṣṭrapāla and of a member of the *Mantri-pariṣat*.

[3] Bṛhad-Bāṇa appears to mean the great Bāṇa or the greater house of the Bāṇas. *Cf.* Perumbāṇappāḍi in Tamil.

was brought in, and Mayūraśarman accepted service under the Pallava kings of Kāñcī, from whom he received the *paṭṭabandha-saṃpūjā*, that is to say, the status of a subordinate ruler, as well as the territory extending from the Aparārṇava (Western or Arabian Sea) and the Prehāra (river ?) with a specification that no other chief would enter into it. The eightieth year of an unknown era by which the Halsi grant of Kākusthavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 23) is dated, is supposed by some scholars to have begun from this time.

Mayūraśarman is said in the Talgunda inscription (v. 20) to have entered into the service of the Pallava kings and to have pleased them by acts of bravery in battles. He seems to have become a *daṇḍanāyaka* (field-marshal) of the Pallava king of Kāñcī. This view is further supported by verse 3 of the same inscription in which the Kadamba family is called the great lineage of leaders of armies (*kadamba-senānī*[1]*-bṛhad-anvaya*), as well as by verse 22 in which Mayūraśarman is said to have been favoured[2] and anointed *Senāpati* (general) by Ṣaḍānana and the Mothers[3] (*ṣaḍānanaḥ yam=abhiṣikta-*

1 The word *senānī* means "leader of an army" (see *Gītā*, X, 24; *Kumāra.*, II, 51). It is also a mame of Kārttikeya, the divine general (*Raghu*, II, 37). It may also be suggested that Mayūraśarman was famous as *Senānī* or *Senāpati* like Puṣyamitra Śuṅga (*Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act V).

2 The word *anudhyāta* is generally taken to be in the active use to mean "meditating on .." In the passage in question the verb *anu-dhyai* is evidently used in the passive to mean "to favour," "to bless." That the word *anudhyāta* should be taken in the passive to mean "favoured" is also proved by passages like *mahāsena-mātṛgaṇ-ānudhyāt-ābhiṣikta* in which the other word *abhiṣikta* is used in the passive. Note also a similar passage of the Calukya grants which says that the family "acquired an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity through the favour and protection of Kārttikeya" (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 337). The common phrase *bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyata* means "favoured (or, blessed) by the feet of the (or, the noble) lord, the father."

3 The Calukyas are described in their grants as "who have been nourished by the seven Mothers who are the seven mothers of mankind." The Mothers are personified energies of the principal deities. They are generally seven (sometimes eight or sixteen) in number, *e.g.*, Brāhmī (or Brahmāṇī), Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī (sometimes Nārasiṃhī), Indrāṇī (Aindrī or Māhendrī), and Cāmuṇḍā. who attend on Śiva but usually on his son Skanda (Mahāsena or Ṣaḍānana). The list of eight Mothers omits Māhendrī but includes Caṇḍī and Carcikā. They were probably connected with the six Kṛttikās (Pleiades) who are said to become mothers to Skanda

vān=anudhyāya senāpatiṃ mātṛbhiḥ saha).[1] In this connection it is interesting to note that in almost all the Kadamba records the family has been described as *anudhyāta* (favoured) by Svāmi-Mahāsena (Ṣaḍānana) and the Mothers. It must also be noticed in this connection that the Sirsi grant (*Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 264) of Ravivarman describes the king as *Kadamba-mahāsenāpati-pratima*.[2]

A very late inscription found at Talgunda (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 178) says that Mayūraśarman (or Mayūravarman as there written) performed no less than eighteen horse-sacrifices. G. M. Moraes says, "It may safely be maintained that he really performed one or perhaps a few more which thus formed a historical foundation for the exaggerated version of the later records." The suggestion is however untenable in view of the fact that Mayūraśarman is never credited with the performance of any sacrifice not only in his own Chandravalli record but also in the inscriptions of his immediate successors. The Kadamba family is said to have been rendered pure by the bath of the Aśvamedha only after the time of Kṛṣṇavarman I who is the only Kadamba ruler known to have performed the horse-sacrifice.

The Chandravalli inscription of Mayūraśarman (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A. R., 1929, p. 50) records the construction of a taṇk by the king who belonged to the Kadamba family and conquered the Trekūṭa, Ābhīra, Pallava, Pāriyātrika, Śakasthāna, Sayindaka, Puṇāṭa and Mokari. This record

by nursing him who formed six mouths to suckle them simultaneously (cf. Skanda's names, Kārttikeya, Ṣaḍānana, Ṣaṇmātura, etc.). See *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 337 and note.

[1] The passage has been taken by some to mean that Mayūraśarman was anointed by Ṣaḍānana after he meditated on the Senāpati (*i.e.*, Ṣaḍānana?). This interprtation is certainly untenable. The verb in *anudhyāya* (after favouring), which has here its subject in *ṣaḍānanaḥ* and its object in *yam*, is the same as in *anudhyāta* (favoured) in passages like *mahāsena-mātṛgaṇ-ānudhyāt-ābhiṣikāta* (favoured and anointed by Mahāsena and the Mothers) occurring in many Kadamba records.

[2] *Mahāsenāpati* evidently signifies Skanda; *cf.* his names Mahāsena and Senāpati.

is engraved on a boulder at the entrance of the Bhairaveśvara temple at Chandravalli in the Chitaldrug district of Mysore, and is so obliterated that it is difficult to be definite as regards the reading of some of the names mentioned in connection with Mayūraśarman's conquests.

I. Trekūṭa appears to signify the Traikūṭakas who probably received their name from the Trikūṭa mountain in Aparānta, mentioned by Kālidāsa (*Raghu*, IV, verses 58-59). An inscription (*Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, p. 124f) of the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa (*circa* 500-520) refers to the kingdom of Trikūṭa. The copper-plate grants of the Traikūṭaka kings are all discovered in the neighbourhood of Surat and Kanheri (Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 1199, 1200, 1202, etc.). The Kanheri grant of the year 245 (A.D. 493-94) of the augmenting sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas refers to a monastery at Kṛṣṇagiri (Kanheri) itself. The Pardi inscription of Dahrasena is dated in year 207 (A.D. 455-56). The date of the Surat inscription of Vyāghrasena is the Traikūṭaka year 232 (A.D. 479-80). The evidence of the Traikūṭaka inscriptions thus shows that the family ruled in Southern Gujarat and the Koṅkaṇ about the second half of the fifth century. It is possible that the Traikūṭakas ruled in the same place also about the time of Mayūraśarman. The era used in the Traikūṭaka inscriptions is said to be the same as the Kalacuri or Cedi era which begins from A.D. 248-49 (Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. clx-xlxi; *Bomb. Gaz.*, I. ii, p. 294.)

Traikūṭaka coins have been discovered not only in Southern Gujarat and the Koṅkaṇ, but also in the Marāṭhā country on the other side of the Ghats. Bhagwanlal Indraji noticed a Traikūṭaka coin mentioning the Paramavaiṣṇava Mahārāja Rudragaṇa (°sena), son of Mahārāja Indradatta (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I. ii, p. 295 n.). The fact that the Traikūṭaka coin-types are very closely imitated from the Western Kṣatrapa coins shows that they were intended for

circulation in districts where the Western Kṣatrapa coins had become familiar to the people. "Local conservatism in regard to coin-types is a marked characteristic of Indian numismatics" (Rapson, *loc. cit.*). It is therefore clear that the country of the Traikūṭakas was originally a part of the dominions of the Śaka kings of Ujjain. According to the Ajanta inscription (*Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 138 ff.) the Trikūṭa country was conquered by the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa who appears to have ruled about the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

II. The earliest mention of the Ābhīras seems to be that in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, I, 252 (*Ind. Ant.*, XLVII, p. 36). There they are associated with the Śūdras. According to a verse of the *Mahābhārata*, these two tribes lived near the place where the Sarasvatī lost itself into the sands (*cf.* IX, 37, 1: *śūdr-ābhīrān prati dveṣād=yatra naṣṭā sarasvatī*). In another place however the epic places the Ābhīras in Aparānta (II, 51). The country of the Ābhīras has been mentioned as Abiria in the *Periplus* and as Abêria in the Geography of Ptolemy. According to the Greek geographer (*Geog.*, VII, i, § 55), the land about the mouth of the Indus was generally called Indo-Scythia which consisted of three countries, *viz.*, Patalênê (Indus delta), Abêria (Ābhīra country) and Surastrênê (Kathiawar).

The *Purāṇas* (*e.g.*, *Vayu*, 99, v. 359) mention the Ābhīras who ruled after the Andhras (Sātavāhanas). An Ābhīra chief named Rudrabhūti is known to have served as general of a Śaka king of Ujjain. The Gunda inscription of Śaka 103 (A.D. 181), belonging to the reign of Rudrasiṃha I, records the digging of a tank by the Ābhīra general Rudrabhūti. It is also known that for a time the Śaka Satraps of Western India were shadowed by an Ābhīra king named Māḍharīputra Īśvarasena, son of Śivadatta. The Nasik inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 88) of this king records the investment of 1,500 *kārṣāpaṇas* in the trade-guilds

of Govardhana (Nasik) for the purpose of providing medicines to the monks dwelling in the monastery on the Triraśmi mountain.[1] Coins of a Mahākṣatrapa named Īśvaradatta have been found in Kathiawar. These are silver coins of the same style and type as the coins of the Śaka Kṣatrapas. Īśvaradatta dates his coins in the regnal year and not in the Śaka era like the Western Kṣatrapas. According to Bhagwanlal Indraji, Īśvaradatta was probably an Ābhīra connected with the dynasty of Īśvarasena of the Nasik inscription, and it was Īśvaradatta who founded the Traikūṭaka era of A.D. 248-49. Rapson however has no doubt that Īśvaradatta reigned between A.D. 236 and 239,[2] that is to say, about ten years before the establishment of the Traikūṭaka era. It is not possible to determine whether the Ābhīras and the Traikūṭakas belonged to the same dynasty or race. It may however be said that the two groups of kings ruled over substantially the same territory and had a similar formation of names, which facts possibly suggest some sort of relation that may have existed between the Ābhīras and the Traikūṭakas (Rapson, *loc. cit.*).

III. We have already discussed the question of Mayūraśarman's quarrel with the Pallavas of Kāñcī. About the beginning of the fourth century, the Pallavas appear to have held sway not only over Andhrāpatha and Sātāhaniraṭṭha (Bellary district) in the north and the north-west, but possibly also over the Kuntala country in the west.

IV. Pāriyātrika seems to signify the people dwelling on the Pāriyātra mountain, which may be identified with the Aravelly Range and the Western Vindhyas. According to

1 The Nasik district " may have passed immediately into the power of these Ābhīras, either during the reign or after the reign of Śrī-Yajña, or it may have first been held by the Cuṭu family of the Śātakarṇis, the ' other Andhras ' or ' Andhra-bhṛtyas ' (' servants of the Andhras ') of the *Purāṇas*, who undoubtedly were in possession of the neighbouring maritime province of Aparānta " (Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. cxxxiv).

2 Bhandarkar places the rule of Mahākṣatrapa Īśvaradatta between 188 and 190 A.D.

the Purāṇas (Vāyu, 45, 97-98; Mārkaṇḍeya, 57, 19-20), rivers like the Mahī, Carmaṇvatī (Chambal), Barṇāśā (Banās), Siprā and Vetravatī have their origin in the Pāriyātra or Pāripātra.

V. Sakasthāna is the country of the Sakas. It has been mentioned by the author of the *Periplus* (§ 38) as Scythia which was situated in the Lower Indus valley and was under the rule of Parthian chiefs, engaged in unceasing internecine strife. As has already been noticed, the Indian Saka country is described in the Geography (VII, i, § 55) of Ptolemy as Indo-Scythia which included Patalênê, Abêria and Surastrênê. At the time of Mayūraśarman (middle of the fourth century A.D.), Sakasthāna seems to have signified the kingdom of the Saka kings of Ujjain. The line of the Sakas of Ujjain was founded by Caṣṭana (a contemporary of the Greek geographer Ptolemy) in the first half of the second century. The Sakas continued their rule in that locality up to the beginning of the fifth century when Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty of Magadha conquered Mālwā from Saka Rudrasiṃha III (Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. cxlix ff.; Allan, *Catalogue*, p. xxxviii f.).

VI. Sayindaka has been suggested to be the same as the country of the Sendrakas. The Sendrakas are known to be of Nāga origin and their country is generally identified with the Nāyarkhaṇḍa or Nāgarakhaṇḍa division of the Banavāsī province, which possibly formed a part of the present Shimoga district of Mysore. The Sendraka-viṣaya is known to have been included in the dominions of the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarman II. The Bennur grant (*Ep. Carn.*, V, p. 594) of Kṛṣṇavarman II records the gift of a village called Palmaḍi which was in the Sendraka-viṣaya. A Sendraka chief named Bhānuśakti seems to have been a feudatory of the Kadamba king Harivarman (see the Halsi grant of the eighth year of Harivarman's reign; *Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 31). After the fall of the Kadambas the Sendrakas transferred their allegiance to the Calukyas of Bādāmi, who succeeded

the Kadambas in the rule of the Kuntala region. A record of Pulakeśin I (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 211 ff.), who was the first great emperor of the Calukya dynasty, mentions the Sendraka *rājā* Rundranīla Goṇḍa, his son Śivāra and grandson Sāmiyāra who ruled the Kuhuṇḍī-viṣaya (Belgaum district) with its headquarters at Alaktaka-nagarī.[1] The Chiplun grant (*Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 50 ff.) says that the Sendraka prince Śrī-vallabha Senānanda-rāja was the maternal uncle of Pulakeśin II. An inscription (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XVI, pp. 228-29) of the tenth year of Vikramāditya I mentions the Sendraka chief Devaśakti who appears to have been his feudatory. According to the evidence of the Balagami record (*Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 142; *Ep. Carn.*, VIII, Sk. 154), the Sendraka Mahārāja Pogilli, a feudatory of Calukya Vinayāditya I, ruled over the Nāyarkhaṇḍa division which had a village called Jedugūr, identified by Fleet with Jedda in the Sorab taluka of the Shimoga district. The crest of the family of Pogilli was the elephant (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 192). In connection with a certain Satyāśraya (Pulakesin II?) a Lakshmesvar inscription mentions the Sendra (*i.e.*, Sendraka) king Durgaśakti, son of Kumāraśakti and grandson of Vijayaśakti.

VII. Puṇāṭa has been taken to be the same as modern Puṇṇāḍu in the southern part of Mysore. Ptolemy seems to have mentioned it (Geog., VII, i, § 86) as Pounnata where beryls were found. The country or district of Punnāṭa was adorned by the rivers Kāverī and Kapinī. The capital of this ancient kingdom was Kīrtipura (Kittūr) on the Kapinī (Kabbanī) river in the Heggaḍedevanakōṭe taluka. The Komāraliṅgam and Māṃballi plates (*Ind. Ant.*, XII, p. 13; *Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A.R., 1917, pp. 40-41) belonging to early

1 Records like the Bagumra (Nausari district) grant (*Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 266-67) of the Sendraka prince Pṛthivīvallabha-Nikumbhallaśakti, son of Ādityaśakti and grandson of Bhānuśakti, dated in the year 406 (Cedi era? = 655 A.D.), show that the Sendrakas were granted *jāgīrs* in Southern Gujarat after the country was conquered by the Calukyas. Alaktakanagarī = Lattalūr of Rāṣṭrakūṭa records ?

Punnāṭa rulers speak of the kings named Viṣṇudāsa, Rāṣṭravarman, Nāgadatta, Bhujaga (son-in-law of Gāṅga Mādhava-Siṃhavarman ?), Skandavarman and Ravidatta, who belonged to the Tāmrakāśyapa *kula*. According to the Gaṅga records, Gaṅga Avinīta, father of Durvinīta, married the daughter of Skandavarman, king of Punnāṭa. Gaṅga Durvinīta is known to have had a very long reign which covered more than forty years and, as we shall see, the Gaṅga king probably helped his daughter's son, Calukya Vikramāditya I, in securing the throne of Bādāmi about 654 A.D. The Punnāṭa king Skandavarman, Durvinīta's mother's father, must therefore have reigned in the second half of the sixth century. Some of the Gaṅga records assert that the Punnāṭa country formed a part of Durvinīta's kingdom. The country may have passed to Durvinīta as the heir of his maternal grandfather.[1]

VIII. Mokari has been taken to signify the Maukharis of Eastern and Northern India. Inscriptions of the Maukhari kings have been discovered in the Jaunpur and Bara-Banki districts of U. P. and in the Gaya district of Bihar (Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, Nos. 10, 1601-1605; Corp. Ins. Ind., III, Intro. p. 14). The Haraha inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 115) of Maukhari Īśānavarman is dated in Vikrama 611 (A.D. 544). About the sixth century a line of the Maukharis is known to have established themselves in the Kanauj region. Maukhari Grahavarman of this line married the sister of the illustrious Harṣavardhana (A.D. 606-647) of the Puṣyabhūti family of Thāneswar. The Chandravalli record however seems to refer to the Maukharis of Rajputana. Three inscribed *yūpas* (Kṛta year 295=A.D. 238) of a feudatory Maukhari family have been found at Baḍvā in the Kotah state (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 42 ff.).

[1] Dr. B. A. Saletore has written a paper on the kingdom of Punnāṭa in *Ind. Cult.*, III (October, 1936), p. 302 ff. His chronology is however based on the theories that Mayūraśarman ruled about the middle of the third century, and that Gaṅga Durvinīta reigned in the last quarter of the fifth century, which I consider to be inadmissible. Dubreuil's chronology is more reasonable (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, pp. 107 9).

It is interesting in this connection to note that the tentative reading of the Chandravalli record does not speak of the Bāṇas who are, according to the evidence of the Talgunda record of Śāntivarman, known to have been harassed by Mayūraśarman. The Bāṇas were a very ancient ruling family in the Chittoor and North Arcot districts. According to Hultzsch (*S. Ind. Ins.*, III, p. 89) the capital of the Bāṇa dynasty seems to have been Tiruvallam which had the other name Vāṇapuram and belonged to the district of Perumbāṇappāḍi (the country of the Great Bāṇa). Tiruvallam is 40 miles west by north of Conjeeveram. On the evidence of the Penukonda Plates (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 331), it may be suggested that about the middle of the fifth century A.D., the Pallava kings Siṃhavarman and Skandavarman installed the Gaṅga feudatories Āyyavarman and his son Mādhava-Siṃhavarman for the purpose of crushing the Bāṇas who had possibly become unruly. The early history of the Bāṇas is wrapped up in obscurity. The earliest rulers of the family, whose time is known, are Vikramāditya-Bali-Indra who was a vassal of Calukya Vijayāditya (A.D. 696-733), and Vikramāditya who governed the country, "West of the Telugu Road," as a vassal of Pallava Nandivarman II (A.D. 717-79). See Hultzch, *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 3 ff., Sewell, *List*, p. 328.

According to Dr. M. H. Krishna (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A.R., 1929, p. 56), the Chandravalli inscription is to be assigned to *circa* 258 A.D. He suggests that the rise of Mayūra is to be placed between A.D. 250 and 260. All his arguments are however based on an untenable view regarding the date of Pallava Śivaskandavarman whom he places about the end of the first half of the third century A.D. It appears that Dr. Krishna too is inclined to place Mayūraśarman only a little later than Śivaskandavarman. Pallava Śivaskandavarman, as I have already shown, ruled in the first quarter of the fourth century. Mayūraśarman,

the language of whose Chandravalli record is a little more developed than that of the grants of Śivaskandavarman, should therefore be placed not earlier than the first quarter of the fourth century A.D.

The Malavalli inscription (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 264) possibly also belongs to king Mayūraśarman. Here however the issuer of the grant is simply said to have been *kadaṃbānaṃ rājā* (king of the Kadambas) and *vaijayantī-dhamma-mahārājādhirāja* (Dharma-Mahārājādhirāja[1] of Vaijayantī or Banavāsī) ; but the name of the king is not mentioned. Nevertheless, as the Prakrit language of the record is later than that of the grants of Śivaskandavarman, the issuer of the Malavalli grant must have been either Mayūraśarman himself or his immediate successor.

The grant was executed in the fourth year of the king's reign, on the second lunar day of the first fortnight of autumn, under the first asterism Rohiṇī. The grant was in the form of a Bahma-dijja (Brahma-deya) which was meant for the enjoyment (*deva-bhoga*) of the god Malapaḷideva. It consisted of a number of villages which are said to have been previously granted by king Mānavyagotra Hāritīputra Śiva-

[1] Titles like *Mahārājādhirāja* were derived from *Rājātirāja*, etc., of the Scytho-Kuṣāṇas. They were first used in Northern India by the Guptas who were the political successors of the Kuṣāṇas in the sovereignty of Āryāvarta. In Southern India, the title *Dharma-Mahārājādhirāja* first appears in the Hirahadagalli grant of Pallava Śivaskandavarman. No other early Pallava king is known to have used the title. Śivaskandavarman himself has been called *Yuva-mahārāja* in the Mayidavolu grant. The early Gaṅga kings call themselves *Dharma-Mahādhirāja*. Since no early Kadamba king is known to have been called *Dharma-Mahārājādhirāja*, may it be supposed that this title of the Kadamba king of the Malavalli record was an imitation of the title of Pallava Śivaskandavarman who, as we have suggested, was possibly suzerain of the Kuntala region in the first quarter of the fourth century ? May it be further suggested that the name of Mānavyasagotra Hāritīputra Vaijayantī-pati Śivaskandavarman who seem to have been the immediate predecessor of Mayūraśarman was after that of Pallava Śivaskandavarman, just like the name of the Gaṅga king Mādhava-Siṃhavarman was imitated from that of his father's overlord, king Siṃhavarman (A.D. 436-458) of Kāñcī ?

skandavarman, lord of Vaijayantī.[1] The Brahmadeya was granted for a second time, with all the *parihāras* including *abhaṭa-praveśa*, to a Brāhmaṇa named Kauśikīputra Nāgadatta of the Koṇṇinya (Kauṇḍinya) gotra, who is said to have been an ornament of the Koṇḍamāna-kula. The necessity of granting for a second time is said to have been the fact that the ownership of the estate was abandoned. The villages granted were Sōmapaṭṭi, Koṅginagara, Mariyasā, Karpendūlā, Para-Muccuṇḍī, Kunda-Muccuṇḍī, Kappennalā, Kunda-Tapuka, Veḷaki, Vegūra, Koṇa-Tapuka, Ekkaṭṭhāhāra and Sahalā. The king's oral order seems to have been written down by Viśvakarman and engraved on the stone-column by Nāgadatta who is possibly not the same as the donee.

The grant begins with an adoration to Malapaḷideva and ends with the *maṅgala* : *jayati lokanātha[ḥ] nandantu go-brāhmaṇā[ḥ]* ; *siddhir=astu* ; *śrīr=astu*. This Sanskrit *maṅgala* at the end of a Prakrit grant reminds us of a similar *maṅgala* at the end of the Hirahadagalli Prakrit grant of Śivaskandavarman. Many of the Sanskrit grants of Mayūraśarman's successors also end with similar *maṅgalas*.

The above inscription is engraved on a pillar in front of the Kalleśvara temple at Malavalli in the Shikarpur taluka as a continuation of, as has already been noticed, an inscription dated in the first year of Mānavyagotra Hāritīputra Viṇhukaḍḍa Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi, king of Vija-

[1] It has been suggested (*e.g.*, in Lüders, *List*, No. 1196; *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XII, p. 361) that Śivaskanda-varman was the name of the Kadamba king who issued the Malavalli grant. The composition of the record however clearly shows that the theory is untenable ; *cf. vaijayantī-dharma-mahārājādhirāja patikata-sanjjhāyicaccāparo kadambānaṃ rājā sivakhadavavvaṇā mānavyasagottena hāritiputtena vaijayantīpatinā puvvadatt=eti*, etc. It must be noticed that the word [*kadambānaṃ*] *rājā* with all the epithets preceding it is in the first case-ending, while *sivakhadavavvaṇā* and all its epithets following it are in the third case-ending. Moreover, the epithet *vaijayantī-dharma-mahārājādhirāja* applied to *kadaṃbānaṃ rājā* and *vaijayantī-patinā* applied to *sivakhadavavvaṇā* show beyond doubt that these two identical epithets refer to two different kings.

yantī (Banavāsī). This grant also begins with an adoration to the god Maḷapaḷideva for whose enjoyment a Devabhoga was granted in the king's first regnal year on the first lunar day of the second fortnight of summer. The *Devabhoga* was in the form of a Bahmadijja (Brahmadeya) of the *grāmahāra* (group of villages ?) of Sahalāṭavī which was granted to Takiñcīputra Koṇḍamāna who has been called Hāritīputra and is said to have belonged to the Kauṇḍinya gotra, with all the *parihāras* like *abhaṭapraveśa* and others.

It must be noticed that the Malavalli record of the Kadamba king also mentions Sahalā (*cf.* the *grāmahāra* of Sahalāṭavī of the present grant) and there the donee is one who belonged to the family of this Koṇḍamāna (*koṇḍamana-kula-tilaka*). Since the linguistic and palaeographical standards of the two Malavalli records agree in placing them very near each other in time, I think it possible that the *Koṇḍamāna-kula-tilaka* Kauśikīputra Nāgadatta of the Kauṇḍinya gotra (donee of the Kadamba grant) was the son of Takiñcīputra-Hāritīputra Koṇḍamāna of the Kauṇḍinya gotra (donee of the Cuṭu Śātakarṇi grant).[1] We should however notice the facts that in the Kadamba record the twelve villages including Sahalā are said to have been previously granted by a Vaijayantī-pati named Śivaskandavarman and that the ownership of the estate is said to have been abandoned. It may be supposed that Sahalā was granted by Viṇhukaḍḍa Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi, while the eleven other villages were granted by Śivaskandavarman who was possibly the former's immediate successor. It is however possibe to suggest that the *grāmahāra* of Sahalāṭavī consisted of the twelve villages mentioned. In the terminology of later inscriptions it would be like "the Sahalā Twelve" or "the Sahalā-mahāgrāma." The cause of abandoning the

[1] See, *e.g.*, *Naiṣadhīya*, V, verse 124, in which Nala, son of Vīrasena, has been described as *vīrasena-kula-dīpa*.

ownership of the estate by the heir of Koṇḍamāna seems to have been the political troubles caused by the rise of Mayūraśarman. The case appears to be the same as that suggested in connection with Śivaśarman who received the village of Polamuru from Mādhavavarman I Viṣṇukuṇḍin, and with his son Rudraśarman who fled to Asanapura during the Calukya invasions and received back his father's *agrahāra* from Jayasiṁha I Eastern Calukya when the latter was established in the Guddavādi viṣaya (see *above*, p. 107 ff.).

The order of king Viṇhukaḍḍa Cuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi for the execution of the Malavalli grant is said to have been given to a *Rajjuka* whose name was possibly Mahābhava. *Rajjuka* (from *rajju*) has been taken to be the same as a class of officials described by Megasthenes (McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 53-54). These officials are said to have measured the land, collected taxes, superintended rivers and the occupations connected with land, enjoyed the power of rewarding and punishing, inspected sluices, constructed roads and carried out other works of public utility. Some of these have been described as the functions of the *Rajjuka* or *Rajju-gāhaka-amacca* in the *Kurudhamma-Jātaka*. From the inscriptions of Aśoka we know that the *Rājūkas* (*i.e.*, *Rajjukas*) were appointed over many hundred thousands of men and were placed in direct charge of the *jānapada jana*; they therefore seem to have been the highest district officers (see Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 2nd ed., pp. 59-60). The *Rajjukas* were possibly employed in this region when Kuntala formed a part of the Maurya empire. The existence of such an official in South-Western Deccan about the beginning of the fourth century shows that the official machinery of the Maurya age was still functioning in Southern India (see Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 321).

V

Kaṅgavarman, Bhagīratha and Raghu

According to the Talgunda inscription, Mayūraśarman was succeeded by his son Kaṅgavarman. In the Satara treasure trove four Kadamba coins have been found to bear the legend *skandha* which Moraes takes to be a mistake for *kaṅga* (*op. cit.*, p. 382). The suggestion however is doubtful. Another writer suggests (see *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XII, p. 361) that Skanda was the real name of the son of Mayūraśarman and that he was the same as Śivaskandavarman of the Malavalli record. We have already shown (*above*, pp. 166-67) that the identification of the names Śivaskanda and Skanda is not quite happy. It has also been proved that Śivaskandavarman of the Malavalli record did not belong to the Kadamba family, but was possibly a scion of the Cuṭu Sātakarṇi dynasty of Kuntala.

The same Talgunda inscription says that Kaṅgavarman was succeeded on the Kadamba throne by his son Bhagīratha. The coins in the cabinet of the Indian Historical Research Institute (St. Xavier's College, Bombay) with the representation of lions and the word *śrī* and with the legend *bhagī* in Haḷe-Kannaḍa characters have been taken to be the issues of this king (*Kadambakula*, p. 382). But the Kadamba coins (even if the Early Kadambas issued coins) have not yet been studied, and we are not definite if these coins can be assigned to the Kadambas.

Rev. Heras has pointed out (*J.B.O.R.S.*, XII, p. 458 ff.) that the story of Kālidāsa being sent as an embassy of Vikramāditya (possibly Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty) to the court of the king of Kuntala is referred to in

the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* of Bhoja and possibly also in the *Aucitya-vicāracarcā* of Kṣemendra (not of Hemacandra; see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 200). He suggests that this Kuntala king was Bhagīratha and that Kālidāsa was sent in order to contract a matrimonial alliance that has been referred to in a passage of the Talgunda inscription which says that Kākusthavarman, son of Bhagīratha, married his daughters in the families of the Guptas and other kings. The theory of Rev. Heras however seems to me to be based on a tissue of assumptions. As has already been pointed out by N. Lakshminarayana Rao (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 199), in the passage of the Talgunda record, king Kākusthavarman, and not his father Bhagīratha, has been credited with the family alliance. We have already suggested that Kākusthavarman appears to have ruled in the first half of the fifth century A.D. He was therefore contemporary of the Gupta king Kumāragupta I (*circa* 415-455 A.D.), the successor of Candragupta II (*circa* 375-415 A.D). It is possible that a son or a grandson of any of these Gupta kings was the son-in-law of Kadamba Kākusthavarman.[1]

[1] Dr. S. K. Aiyangar (*The Vākāṭakas and their place in Indian History*, p. 41 ff.) and, *apparently* following him, Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 200) think that the king of Kuntala to whom Candragupta II is supposed to have sent an embassy was a king of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. It is pointed out that the *Bharatacarita* (*An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, V, p. 46) mentions the author of the well known Prakrit poem *Setubandha* as a Kuntaleśa, while Bāṇa in the *Harṣacarita* (Intro., verse 14) tells us that the poem was composed by Pravarasena, who has been identified with Pravarasena II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. According to them, the Vākāṭakas were also known as "Lords of Kuntala." The theory is however untenable in view of the fact that the country of Kuntala has been described as a separate political unit in the records of the Vākāṭakas themselves. According to the Balaghat plates (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 260 ff.), Narendrasena, son of Pravarasena II, was married to Ajjhita-Bhaṭṭārikā who was the daughter of the lord of Kuntala. The Ajanta inscription (*Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 138 ff.) says that the Vākāṭaka king Pṛthivīsena, father (? grandfather) of Pravarsena II, conquered the lord of Kuntala. That the Kuntala country did not form a part of the Vākāṭaka dominions is also proved by the fact that according to the same inscription, Hariṣeṇa who was the last great king of the Vākāṭaka dynasty claims to have conquered Kuntala once again. Of course, the Kadambas of Kuntala may, for some time, have

Bhagīratha was succeeded by his son, king Raghu. Nothing important is known about his reign except the fact that his younger brother Kākusthavarman was a *Yuvarāja* during his reign and was possibly in charge of the district round Palāśikā (modern Halsi).

acknowledged the suzerainty of the Vākāṭakas; but that would hardly justify Pravarasena II being called *kuntal-eśa*. Moreover, the *Purāṇas* (*e g.*, *Vāyu*, 99, 365-66) describe the Vākāṭakas as *vaidiśaka* (belonging to Vidiśā), and the Vākāṭaka grants show that the Vākāṭakas ruled from the Vidarbha region in northern Deccan (see Bhandarkar, List, Nos. 1703-13).

The mention of a Vākāṭaka king as "Lord of Kuntala" in the *Bharatacariaa* only shows that its author lived in (or referred to) a period when the name Kuntala extended over the greater part of Western and Southern India, *e.g.*, in the age of the Calukyas who have been described as Kuntalar, "Lords of Kuntala," in the *Kaliṅgattuparaṇi* (see *above*, p. 215, note 3). The Early Calukyas may be supposed to have been political successors of the Vākāṭakas in the Deccan.

VI

KĀKUSTHAVARMAN AND ŚĀNTIVARMAN

Raghu was succeeded by his younger brother Kākusthavarman [1] who was possibly ruling the Palāśikā division of the Kadamba kingdom as a governor during his elder brother's reign. Only one inscription of Kākusthavarman has so far been discovered.

The grant of Kākusthavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 23) begins with the word *namaḥ*, and a verse [2] which says, "Victorious is the holy Jinendra who abounds in good qualities and is renowned as being extremely compassionate, and the banner of whose tenderness which comforts the three worlds is lifted up on high." Some of the grants of Mṛgeśavarman and Ravivarman begin with the same verse.

The grant was issued from Palāśikā (modern Halsi on the road to Nandigarh in the Bidi taluka of the Belgaum district) in the eightieth year of Kākusthavarman, the Yuvarāja of the Kadambas, who claimed to have enjoyed the general good wish of the subjects. We have already seen that the date of Kākusthavarman's grant is supposed to "be the eightieth year from the *paṭṭabandha* of his ancestor Mayūraśarman, which is mentioned in the Talgunda inscription." But since there is no proof that the Kadambas had any era like that, it may not be unreasonable that the date should be referred to the era of the Gupta with whom Kākustha was matrimonially related.

1 The correct form of the name would be *Kākutsthavarman* (literally, one whose shield, *i.e.*, protector, is Kākutstha, *i e.*, Rāmacandra). In the Kadamba grants however the name of the king is invariably spelt *Kākusthavarman.*

2 *Jayati bhagavān jinendro guṇarundraḥ prathita-parama-kāruṇikaḥ, Trailokyāśvāsakarī dayā-patāk=occhritā yasya.*

By this grant a field called Badovara-kṣetra in the village called Kheṭa-grāma, which belonged to the holy Arhats who are said to be the refuge of the created beings and the saviours of the three worlds, was given to the general Śrutakīrti as a reward for saving the prince. It is said that the confiscators of the field, belonging to the king's own family or of any other dynasty, would be guilty of the *pañca-mahāpātaka*. According to the Jains, the five great sins are destruction of life, lying, stealing, unchastity and immoderate desire. The grant ends with the usual imprecatory verses and the adoration: *namo namo*; *ṛṣabhāya namaḥ*. Ṛṣabha is the first Arhat and the first of the twenty-four Jain *tīrthaṅkaras* (sanctified teachers) of the present age.

As we have already seen, the Talgunda inscription says that king Kākusthavarman "by means of his rays which were his daughters caused to expand the splendid lotus-groups which were the royal families of the Guptas and others." In this connection it is interesting to note that, in the Balaghat plates (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 270 f.), the Vākāṭaka king Pṛthivīṣena II is said to have been the son of Narendrasena by the Mahādevī Ajjhitabhaṭṭārikā who was the daughter of the lord of Kuntala. The Vākāṭaka prince Narendrasena was grandson of Prabhāvatīguptā, daughter of Candragupta II. Dubreuil thinks (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 100) that Vākāṭaka Narendrasena, great-grandson of Candragupta II, was the son-in-law of Kākusthavarman and that the Talgunda record refers to this indirect relation of the Kadambas with the Guptas. If this suggestion is to be believed Ajjhitabhaṭṭārikā was a daughter of Kākusthavarman. It is however also possible that another daughter of Kākustha was actually given in marriage to a Gupta prince of Pāṭaliputra, who was possibly a son or grandson of Candragupta II or Kumāragupta I.

There is a lithic record in box-headed characters (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A. R. 1911, pp. 33, 35) on the right jamb

of the doorway of the Praṇaveśvara temple at Talgunda, which speaks of a certain Kākustha of the Bhaṭāri dynasty[1] and of his mother Lakṣmī who is said to have been born in the Kadamba family. Since Kākusthavarman is known to have had several daughters and since grandsons are sometimes seen to bear the names of the maternal grand-fathers (*cf*. E. Calukya names *Rājarāja* and *Rājendra*), it is possible that Lakṣmī, the mother of the Bhaṭāri chief Kākustha, was another daughter of the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman. Thus Kākusthavarman appears to have been matrimonially related to the Guptas, Vākāṭakas and the Bhaṭāris.

The son of Kākusthavarman was king Śāntivarman. The famous Talgunda inscription was engraved at the time of this ruler. The Talgunda inscription begins with an adoration to Śiva and a verse eulogising the god.[2] It records the construction of a tank in the premises of a *siddhālaya* (temple) of lord Bhava (*i.e.*, Śiva) by Kākusthavarman. It is also said that the *siddhālaya* was formerly *abhyarcita* (worshipped at) by Sātakarṇi (possibly a king of the Cuṭu family) and others. The record ends with the following *maṅgala*: *nandatu sarva-samant-āgato='yam=adhivāsaḥ ; svasti prajābhyaḥ*. It is sometimes supposed that the Talgunda record was engraved by Śāntivarman when he was a governor of Sthānakundūra (Talgunda) during the reign of his father. But passages like *gṛheṣu yasya lakṣmy-āṅganā dhṛtimatī suciraṃ ca reme, yam......sāmanta-cūḍā-maṇayaḥ praṇemuḥ*, etc., show that king Kākusthavarman was dead at the

[1] The epithet *bhaṭāri vaṃśa-tilaka*, applied to the chief named Kākustha, may also suggest that the name of the chief's father was Bhaṭāri. See *above*, p. 250 and note. The record speaks of one Paśupati devoted to lord Paśupati, *i.e.*, Śiva. Kākustha is said to have been chief among the ten Maṇḍalikas and had the control of *śulka*. He is also said to have pleased his master, the *kṣitipa*. The record also refers to the residents of Sthānakuñjapura-tīrtha which may be the same as Sthānakundūra or Talgunda. The record has been assigned palaeographically to about the middle of the fifth century.

[2] *Jayati viśvadeva-saṃghāta-nicit-aika-mūrtiḥ sanātanaḥ Sthāṇur=indu-raśmi-vicchūrita-dyutimaj-jaṭā-bhāra-maṇḍanaḥ*.

time when the Talgunda inscription was engraved. The record moreover speaks of the rule (*śāsana*) of king (*nṛpati*) Śāntivarman who has been described as *paṭṭa-tray-ārpaṇa-virājita-cāru-mūrti* which means to say that the king wore three diadems or crowns (*paṭṭa* ; see *Raghu*, XVIII, v. 44), that is to say, had three kingdoms in his possession. It is not clear whether he received the three *paṭṭas* from his father or from a Pallava over-lord (Pallavendra Śāntivara of the Hebbata grant ?) like his ancestor Mayūraśarman.

It is interesting in this connection to note that the Birur grant (*Ep. Carn.*, VI, p. 91) records the gift of a village in the Sindhuthayā-rāṣṭra, made by the Kadamba Dharma-Mahārāja Viṣṇuvarman with the permission of (*anujñāpya*) his *jyeṣṭhapitā* Śāntivarma-dharmamahārāja who has been described as *vaijayantī-tilaka-samagra-karṇāṭa-bhūvarga-bhartā*. If this Śāntivarman is to be identified with the son of Kākusthavarman, one of the latter's three *paṭṭas* seems to refer to the kingdom of his feudatory Viṣṇuvarman. Another *paṭṭa* possibly refers to the Vaijayantī (Banavāsī) division of the Karṇāṭa country, which appears to have been under the direct rule of Śāntivarman.

If the above identification is to be accepted (see *infra*), we see that the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarman I (father of Viṣṇuvarman) who celebrated the Aśvamedha, and was a very powerful ruler and possibly had the whole of Karṇāṭa (consisting of three kingdoms ?) under him, was a son of Kākusthavarman and a younger brother of Śāntivarman who was the *jyeṣṭha-pitā* [1] (father's elder brother) of Viṣṇuvarman. We also see that Kṛṣṇavarman I who was presumably dead when his son

[1] The word *jyeṣṭha-pitā* is synonymous with *jyeṣṭha-tāta* and *pitṛjyeṣṭha*, ' a father's eldest brother ' See the Miraj grant of Jayasiṃha II (*Ind. Ant.*, VIII, p. 17a, l. 4). and *Ep Ind.*, VIII, p. 30 n.

Viṣṇuvarman was Dharma-Mahārāja under his *jyeṣṭha-pitā* ruled before his elder brother Śāntivarman. It will be seen below that the great Kṛṣṇavarman was defeated and probably killed in a battle with the Pallavas. May this fact suggest that, after the death of Kṛṣṇavarman who usurped the throne, the rightful heir of Kākusthavarman got the possession of the entire Karṇāṭa country with the help of the Pallavas who defeated the usurper ?[1] It is also to be noted that according to the Hebbata grant Viṣṇuvarman himself is also known to have been anointed by a Pallava king.

An inscription in front of the Durgi temple at Jambehalli in the Sorab taluka (*Ep. Carn.*, VIII, Sb. 44) has been attributed by Moraes to the Kadamba king Śāntivarman, son of Kākusthavarman. This record was written by Kannaya, the minister for peace and war. According to it, when Śāntivarm-arasa was ruling the [Banavāsī] Twelve Thousand, Kannaya built two temples and made a tank ; having come and seen them, the king granted a *mattal* of riceland to the priest of the temples. The inscription however is in the Kannaḍa language and bears the date Śaka 894 (A.D. 972). There is therefore no reason to believe that it belongs to the Kadamba king Śāntivarman who ruled about the middle of the fifth century. Śāntivarm-arasa of the Jambehalli record obviously belonged to a vice-regal family that ruled Banavāsī under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.[2] The fact that the date of the inscription falls about the decline of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power in A.D. 973, possibly explains why the name of the overlord is not mentioned in the record.

1 It may be also suggested that Kākustha was a feudatory of Pallava Śāntivara and named his son after his overlord. The *aśvamedhin* Kṛṣṇavarman became independent. He was succeeded by his elder brother, but the Pallavas sopported his son. These suggestions are however only speculative.

2 Was he identical with Śāntivarman of the Ratta family of Saundatti, who ruled in Northern Kuntala in 980 ?

VII

MṚGEŚAVARMAN

Śāntivarman appears to have been succeeded by his son Mṛgeśavarman whose last known date is year eight of his reign. The king was matrimonially connected with the Kekayas whose dominions appear to have comprised the present Chitaldrug district in north-eastern Mysore. An inscription (*Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1911, pp. 33, 35) on the left jamb of the doorway of the Praṇaveśvara temple at Talgunda describes queen Prabhāvatī, dear wife of Mṛgeśavarma-Dharmamahārāja and mother of Ravivarma-Dharmamahārāja, as *kaikeya-mahākula-prasūtā*. The inscription obviously recorded a grant made by Prabhāvatī ; but only the beginning of the record survives.

The following inscriptions of Mṛgeśavarman's time have been discovered :—

I. The Banavasi grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, pp. 35-36) begins with practically the same verse [1] as is found at the end of the Devagiri plates of Yuvarāja Devavarman, son of Kṛṣṇavarman I. It is in adoration of the Arhat, the lord of the three worlds.

The grant was issued under the asterism Uttarabhādrapada on the tenth lunar day of the *Bahula* (sic. *Śukla*)-*pakṣa* of Kārttika in Mṛgeśavarman's third regnal year which was a Pauṣa saṃvatsara, when the king was at Vaijayantī. We have already tried to show that the date corresponds to October 24, A.D. 437, and to October 27, A.D. 472, of which the latter appears to be the actual date of Mṛgeśavarman's grant.

In this record Mṛgeśavarman is called the son of Śāntivarman and born in the family of Kākustha. Another

1 *Jayaty=arhaṃs=trilokeśaḥ sarva-bhūta-hite rataḥ,*
Rāg-ādy-ari-haro='nanto='nanta-jñāna-dṛg=īśvaraḥ.

important point is that it describes the Kadambas not only as Mānavya-sagotra but also as Āṅgirasa which appears to show that the family actually belonged to the Āṅgirasa gotra.

The grant records the gift of some black-soil lands (*kṛṣṇabhūmi-kṣetra*), forty *nivartanas* by the royal measure, in the village called Bṛhat-Paralūra to the devine supreme Arhat whose feet are rubbed by the tiara of the lord of gods, for the purpose of the glory of sweeping out the temple, anointing the idol with ghee, performing worship and repairing anything that may be broken (*sammārjan-opalepan-ābhyarcana-bhagnasaṃskāra-mahimā*). These forty *nivartanas* of land lay within the western boundary of the village. A field, four *nivartanas* by the ordinary measure (*kṣetra-nivartana*), was also granted along with one *nivartana* outside the Caityālaya for the purpose of decorating the idol with flowers, and one *nivartana* that was the measure of the *aṅgana* (court-yard) of the *devakula*.

The grant quotes the usual imprecatory verses and refers to the unresumable character of lands that have been given with libations of water, enjoyed by three generations and have been preserved by good people.

The *paṭṭikā* (grant) is said to have been written by Dāmakīrti-Bhojaka.

II. Another Banavasi grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, pp. 37-38) of *śrī-vijaya-śiva*-Mṛgeśavarman [1] was issued on the full-moon day of the eighth fortnight of Varṣā (rainy season) in the fourth year of the king who was residing at Vaijayantī. The form of dating refers to a primitive division of the year into three seasons of eight fortnights each. Traces of this primitive division are to be found in the ancient

[1] K. B Pathak on the strength of this form of the name identified (*Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 15), Mṛgeśavarman with Mahārāja Śivakumāra who is mentioned by Bālachandra in his introductory remarks on the *Prākṛtasāra*, as having for his preceptor the wellknown *ācārya* Padmanandi-Kuṇḍakunda. The identification is fantastic.

Indian custom of performing *cāturmāsya* (four-monthly) sacrifices at the beginning of each season on the full-moon days of the months of Phālguna, Āṣāḍha and Kārttika. In connection with the above date of Mṛgeśavarman's record it is interesting to note that an inscription of his son Ravivarman is dated on the tenth lunar day of the sixth fortnight of Hemanta (winter). It is also to be noted that both of these grants record some gifts made in favour of Jain asetics. It is therefore almost certain that the ancient form of dating in these cases was due ot Jain influence. To the ascetics of ancient times the year seems to have been divided into three seasons, *viz.*, *grīṣma*, *varṣā* and *hemanta*, each of which was subdivided into eight fortnights.

In this record the *vaṃśas* of the king's father and mother are said to have been pure. Mṛgeśa himself is described as learned in various *śāstras* and skilled in exercises like riding. He is also said to have fought in many battles and acquired much wealth by the power of his arms. He was a giver of cows, lands, gold, clothes, food and many other things.

By this grant, *śrī-vijaya-śiva*-Mṛgeśavarman, the Dharmamahārāja of the Kadambas, made a gift of the village called Kālavaṅgā. The village was divided into three equal portions, the first of which was given to the holy Arhat and great Jinendra residing in the Purva-mahac-chālā ; the second portion was granted for the enjoyment of a *saṃgha* (sect) of the Śvetapaṭa[1] (*i.e.*, Śvetāmbara Jain) Mahāśramaṇas, and the third for the enjoyment of a *saṃgha* of the Nirgrantha (*i.e.*, Digambara Jain) Mahāśramaṇas. Future kings are requested to protect the grant according to the *devabhoga-samaya* in order to provide money for *deva-bhāga*, *dhānya*, *deva-pūjā*, *vali*, *caru*, *deva-karma-kara* and *bhagna-kriyā-pravartana*. The record ends with the usual verses.

[1] See Bhandarkar's List, No. 2085 and note.

The charter was written by a *senāpati* named Naravara. The seal attached to the plates is indistinct, but seems to bear the device of the sitting or standing figure of a god or man. According to Fleet, the figure may be meant for a Jinendra. This suggestion however cannot be accepted until it is definitely proved that Mṛgeśavarman was a Jain.

III. In the Hire-Sakuna grant (*Ep. Carn.*, VIII, p. 12) the king has been called Mṛgeśvaravarman and the son of Kākustha's dear son. It was issued on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the eighth regnal year of the king when he was residing at Vaijayantī.

The grant records the gift of a village called Kadaḷa-kaḷaṇi and some *vāstuka-kṣetra* (house-site) along with Perddalā to a Brāhmaṇa named Kratusomaśarman who seems to have belonged to the Gautama gotra. In connection with the boundary of the lands are mentioned Virajā which seems to have been a river, a field called Karvvelli, a river called Veṇṇa, Palavakkeṇi, Kadaïlkūra, Kāḍakorasa and a confluence of rivers (Virajā and Veṇṇa ?). The *bhojakas* or free-holders of the locality were informed of the king's grant (*deśa-grāma-grāmabhojakānāṃ śrāvita-śrāvaṇaṃ kṛtvā*). The village was granted all the *parihāras* and was made *a-bhaṭa-praveśa*. The record ends with the usual verses.

The legend on the seal attached to the Hire-Sakuna plates reads *śrī-mṛgeśvaravarmaṇaḥ*.

IV. The adoration with which the Halsi grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 24) of Mṛgeśavarman's eighth regnal year begins is the same as that at the beginnig of Kākusthavarman's grant. In this record the king has been called a *dharma-vijayī* and has been described as the dear eldest son of Śāntivaravarmaṅ and the grandson of Kākusthavarman. He is also called the uprooter of the Gaṅgas (*tuṅga-gaṅga-kul-otsādī*) and the very fire of destruction to the Pallavas

(*pallava-pralay-ānala*). We have seen that Mṛgeśa possibly began to rule in A.D. 470. His Gaṅga contemporary therefore seems to have been either Āyyavarman who was installed by the Pallava king Siṃhavarman (436-37 to *circa* 458 A.D.) of Kāñcī or probably Āyyavarman's son Mādhava-Siṃhavarman whose Penukonda plates have been assigned by Fleet to *circa* 475 A.D. Mṛgeśa's Pallava contemporary was probably king Skandavarman, the son of Siṃhavarman and the overlord of the Gaṅga king Mādhava-Siṃhavarman (see *above*, p. 176).[1] The reference to the Pallava overlords together with their Gaṅga feudatories appears to prove that Mṛgeśavarman had to fight hard with his eastern neighbours.

While residing at the city of Vaijayantī, the king, through devotion for his father who was dead, caused to be built a *jinālaya* at the city of Palāśikā and gave to the holy Arhats thirty-three *nivartanas* of land between the river Mātṛsarit and the sacred confluence of rivers (Mātṛsarit and Iṅgiṇī ?) called the Iṅgiṇī-saṃgama. The grant was made for the benefit of the Yāpanīyas, Nirgranthas and the Kūrcakas who were apparently sects of Jain ascetics. Nirgrantha is the same as the Digambara sect. The word *yāpanīya* seems to signify " those who go away," *i.e.*, the mendicants who are going away and not staying.

The date of the grant is given as the full-moon day of the month of Kārttika in the king's eighth regnal year which was a Vaiśākha saṃvatsara. We have already seen that the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika of his third year fell in the Pauṣa saṃvatsara. This fact seems to show

[1] Mr. Moraes suggests (*op. cit.*, pp. 32-33) that Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopa was possibly the Pallava contemporary of Mṛgeśavarman. He takes the title *Yuvamahārāja* as signifying Viṣṇugopa's subordinate position to the Kadamba king. Yuvamahārāja however means a crown-prince and never signifies a feudatory ruler. Pallava Viṣṇugopa could not have been the crown-prince, *i.e.*, heir, of Kadamba Mṛgeśavarman.

that the same lunar day of the next Vaiśāka saṃvatsara fell in his seventh regnal year. We are possibly to suppose that the eignth year of Mṛgeśa's reign began in between the *śukla-daśamī* and the full-moon day of Kārttika. The king then would appear to have ascended the throne on a day between those two *tithis*.

The executor (*ājñapti*) of the grant was a Bhojaka named Dāmakīrti; all other functions were performed by the Āyuktaka Jiyanta. According to Fleet, *Bhojaka* is the name of a class of officiating priests in Jain temples. It is however generally taken in the sense of free-holder (*inām-dār*) which seems to be better. It may be noticed that a person named Śrutakīrti who has been called a *senāpati* (general) in the grant of Kākusthavarman has been mentioned as Bhoja Śrutakīrti in an undated Halsi grant of Ravivarman. Āyuktaka generally means the governor of a district. Jiyanta who has been called *sarvasy=ānuṣṭhātā* was probably entrusted with the construction of the Jinālaya.

The grant ends with the usual imprecatory verses and the *maṅgala* : *siddhir=astu*.

V. The Hitnahebbagilu grant (*Ep. Carn.*, IV, p. 130; Hs. 18) of *śrī-vijaya-śiva*-Mṛgeśavarman begins not with the usual adoration to Jinendra, but with a verse adoring lord Brahman.[1] It must be noted in this connection that this grant was made in favour not of any Jain institution but of a Brāhmaṇa, described as an *ātharvaṇika* and *veda-vedāṅga-vit*. Are we to suppose that Kīrtivara, the writer of the present record, was a Brahmanical Hindu worshipper of Brahman, while the grants showing considerable Jain influence were written by devout Jain officials of the king? It is known that Mṛgeśavarman and Ravivarman

[1] *Jayati sur-āsura-makuṭa-praṇihita-*
maṇi-kiraṇa-khacita-caraṇa-yugaḥ ;
daṇḍa-kamaṇḍalu-hastaḥ
padma-pravar-āsano brahmā.

favoured Jainism; but it is not definitely known whether they were Jains themselves. While in this record the king is called *dharmajña* like Yudhiṣṭhira, *satyavādī* like Pratardana and *brahmaṇya* like Viṣṇu, his Banavasi grant, as we have already seen, describes the supreme Arhat as having his feet rubbed by the tiara of Indra. It is thus difficult in the present state of our knowledge to form a definite idea about the religion of Mṛgeśavarman.

The Hitnahebbagilu grant was issued on the tenth lunar day of the bright half of Mārgaśiras when the king was residing at Vaijayantī. Mṛgeśavarman is described as a giver of cows, lands, villages, gold and other things (*go-sahasra-nava-kṣetrahala-dhaṇṇi?-grāma-hiraṇy-ādi*).

The grant records the gift of a village called Kiḷuṇī-rilli to a Brāhmaṇa named Sarvasvāmin, son of Piṅgala-svāmin who belonged to the Aupagahaṇi gotra. It was made in accordance with the law of the Brahmadeyas, with libations of water and *dakṣiṇā*. The village was granted the *parihāras* called *abhaṭa-praveśa* and *antaḥkara-viṣṭika* which we find referred to in the Kudgere grant of Māndhātṛvarman (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 12). It is also said to have been exempted from *paṅgotkoṭa* the meaning of which is not quite clear.

Some verses quoted at the end of the record are said to be the words of Bhīṣma and Rāma. The *paṭṭikā* was written by Kīrtivara.

VIII

RAVIVARMAN

Mṛgeśavarman was succeeded by his son Ravivarman who ruled at least up to the thirty-fifth year of his reign. This king is known to have annexed the Palāśikā division of the Karṇāṭa country to his dominions which probably comprised the Vaijayantī and Uccaśṛṅgī divisions only. A Halsi garnt of his son's fourth regnal year (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, pp. 30-31) suggests that the Uccaśṛṅgī division was governed by Ravi's younger (?) brother Śivaratha. Another Halsi grant of Ravivarman describes how the king killed Viṣṇuvarman (son of the usurper Kṛṣṇavarman I), defeated the latter's Pallava allies and established himself at Palāśikā. A damaged stone inscription (*Ep. Carn.*, VIII, p. 167) discovered at Kavadi in the Sorab taluka mentions a queen along with the name of Ravivarman, son of Mṛgeśa. The record is written in four lines of verse; the first few letters of the lines however could not be deciphered. The epigraph has been taken to imply that at the death of Ravivarman one of his queens burnt herself with him as a *satī*. The following records of Ravivarman's time have so far been discovered.

I. The Nilambur grant (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 146 ff.) of Ravivarma-Dharmamahārāja was issued when the king was at Vaijayantī. In this record the Kadamba family has been described as purified by the *avabhṛtha-snāna* of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. As we shall see, the only performer of the Aśvamedha among the Early Kadambas was Kṛṣṇavarman I whose descendants generally refer to the celebration of the sacrifice in their grants. The Nilambur grant

bears the only instance in which the Aśvamedha of the usurper is referred to in a record of a king of the main line.

By this record the king granted on the full-moon day of Kārttika, for the increase of his own religious merit, a *pallī* called Multagi which was to the east of a *grāma* called Kirūpāsāṇi in the *viṣaya* of Mogalūr. The grant was made in favour of a Yajurvedīya Brāhmaṇa named Govindasvāmin who belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra. Another place called Maḷkāvu was also given along with Multagi. Multagi is mentioned in the Merkera plates of the Gaṅga king Koṅgaṇi-Mahādhirāja as the eastern boundary of a village called Badaṇeguppe which was granted to the Jinālaya of Talavananagara. Talavanapura and Talavananagara were the Sanskrit forms of Taḷekkāḍ or Taḷakāḍ, the Gaṅga capital, which still exists under the name of Taḷakāḍ, on the left bank of the river Kāverī about 28 miles to the south-east of Mysore (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, *ii*, p. 299). Badaṇeguppe is five or six miles south of Taḷakāḍ on the other side of the river. Mogalūr is supposed to be the same as Mugūr or Muḷḷur which is also near Taḷakāḍ. The grant of two villages so near the Gaṅga capital proves the success of Ravivarman against the Gaṅgas. We have already seen that according to the evidence of a Halsi grant the Gaṅgas were 'uprooted' by the father of Ravivarman before the eighth year of his reign. It is interesting in this connection to note that the Gaṅgas were friendly towards the junior line of Kṛṣṇavarman I. The Gaṅga king Mādhava-Mahādhirāja is known to have married a granddaughter of Viṣṇuvarman who, as we shall see, was killed by Ravivarman before the eleventh year of Ravi's reign. Gaṅga Avinīta-Koṅkaṇi, son of Mādhava, has been described in the Gaṅga records as the beloved sister's son of Kṛṣṇavarman, evidently Kṛṣṇavarman II, grandson of Viṣṇuvarman (see *infra*).

The grant is said to have been made with gold and with libations of water. All the *parihāras* were granted.

Those who might confiscate the lands are said to be committing the *pañca-mahāpātaka*, while those who would protect the grant are said to be acquiring religious merit. The record ends with the imprecatory verses and with the *maṅgala*: *svasty=astu go-brāhmaṇebhyaḥ, prajābhyo maṅgalam.*

II. The Halsi grant (*Ind. Ant*, VI, p. 28) of Rājā Bhānuvarman is dated on the tenth lunar day of the sixth fortnight of Hemanta in the eleventh year of the reign of his elder brother Ravivarma-Dharmamahārāja. The record begins with the usual adoration to Jinendra-guṇarundra and traces the royal genealogy from Kākusthavarman.

By this grant a piece of land, fifteen *nivartanas* by the royal measure, in the field called Kardamapaṭī in Palāśikā was assigned in a copper charter and was given to the Jinas by the Bhojaka Paṇḍara who was a worshipper of the supreme Arhat. Paṇḍara is said to have acquired the favour of Rājā Bhānuvarman, younger brother of Mahārāja Ravivarman. The *paṭī* seems to be the same as *paṭṭī* or *paṭṭikā* which as we have seen (*above*, p. 198) probably means a piece of land.

The lands were given free from the gleaning tax and all other burdens (*uñcha-kara-bhar-ādi-vivarjita*) in order that the ceremony of ablution might always be performed without fail on days of the full-moon.

Fleet suggested (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 29n) that Bhānuvarman may have ruled conjointly with his elder brother Ravi. The fact that the prince is simply styled Bhānuvarma-rāja while his elder brother has been called Dharma-mahārāja renders this theory untenable. Bhānuvarman seems to have been the governor of Palāśikā under king Ravivarman.

The grant ends with the usual impecatory verses. The seal attached to the plates is indistinct.

III. The Sirsi grant (*Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 264) of Ravivarman's thirty-fifth year was issued when the king was at

Vaijayantī. Ravivarman, the Dharma-mahārāja of the Kadambas, is said to have been *kadamba-mahāsenāpati-pratima* [1] and *atyanta-pitṛ-bhakta*. The grant records the gift of four *nivartanas* of land at Sāregrāma to the temple of Mahādeva (*mahādev-āyatana*) that belonged to the *desā-mātya* named Nīlakaṇṭha who was the king's *priya-vaidya* (favourite physician). The grant was made on the fifth lunar day of the bright half of Kārttika in the thirty-fifth year of Ravivarman's reign. The land is said to have been in a field called Baṃdupukropi which lay between two tanks called Baṃbāre-taḍāga and Dāsa-taḍāga. The record mentions a Brāhmaṇa named Bharadvājārya who belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra and was possibly also called Svāmi-pāśupata. He seems to have been the chief priest of the temple of Mahādeva.

IV. The undated Halsi grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, pp. 25-26) which begins with the usual adoration to Jinendra-guṇarundra records an interesting history of a family that was favoured by Kākusthavarman and his descendants. It says that in former time the Bhoja named Śrutakīrti who acquired great favour of the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman enjoyed the village of Kheṭa. We have seen that Kākustha-varman granted a field called Badovara in the village of Kheṭa to the *senāpati* Śrutakīrti for saving him. When Śrutakīrti died, Kākustha's son Śāntivarman was ruling the country. Then the village was again granted to the mother of Dāmakīrti (son of Śrutakīrti?) by Śāntivarman's son Mṛgeśavarman for the sake of piety and in accordance with the direction of his father. The eldest son of Dāmakīrti was the *pratihāra* (door-keeper) Jayakīrti whose family is said to have been established in the world by an *ācārya* (or the *ācāryas*) called Bandhuṣeṇa. In order to increase his good fortune, fame and family and for the sake of religious merit, Jayakīrti,

[1] See *above*, p. 240n.

through the favour of king Ravi, gave the village of Puru-Kheṭaka (*i.e.*, larger Kheṭa or Kheṭaka) to the mother of his own father.

The grant further records that the lord Ravi established his ordinance at the great city of Palāśikā that Jinendra's glory, the festival of which used to last for eight days, should be celebrated regularly every year on the full-moon day of Kārttika from the revenues of that village; that the learned men who were ascetics of the Yāpanīya sect and the chief amongst whom was Kumāradatta should, according to justice, enjoy all the material substance of that greatness during the four months of the rainy season ; and that the worship of Jinendra should be perpetually performed by the pious countrymen and citizens.

The record says, "That (land, etc.)—which has been conveyed by copper-charters under some ordinances accepted by previous kings—should be preserved by the king not inattentive to religion, having pondered over the misfortunes of being born again and again," and quotes the usual imprecatory verses. It also says that the grant which is bestowed with libations of water, is enjoyed by three generations, is preserved by good people and the grants which have been made by former kings are not resumed.

The record ends with the adoration *namo* = *namaḥ* and says, "Wheresoever the worship of Jinendra is kept up there is increase of the country; and the cities are free from fear; and the lords of those countries acquire strength."

V. Another undated Halsi grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, pp. 29-30) of Ravivarman records that the king granted four *nivartanas* of land to Jinendra. The actual donor of the land seems to have been Śrīkīrti, brother of Dāmakīrti; the object of the grant was the increase of the religious merit of Dāmakīrti's mother. There are the usual imprecatory verses at the end of the record.

The most interesting point in the record is that it describes Ravivarman as established at Palāśikā after conquering the whole world, killing Viṣṇuvarman and other kings and uprooting Caṇḍadaṇḍa, the lord of Kāñcī.[1] The descendants of the usurper were hostile to the kings of the main line. Viṣṇuvarman however seems to have had to accept for some time the suzerainty of Śāntivarman. We have seen that, according to the Halsi grant of the eighth year of Mṛgeśavarman, the king while residing at Vaijayantî built a Jinālaya at the city of Palāśikā and gave to the holy Arhat thirty-three *nivartanas* of land between the Mātṛsarit and the Iṅgiṇī confluence. It possibly shows that Viṣṇuvarman ruled at Palāśikā as a vassal of the Vaijayantī kings at least up to the eighth year of Mṛgeśavarman's reign.[2] The reference to his fight with Ravivarman shows that, possibly after the death of Mṛgeśa, Viṣṇuvarman rebelled against the authority of the main line. The mention of the defeat and death of Viṣṇuvarman in connection with the establishment of Ravivarman at Palāśikā seems to suggest that the former was a king of the Palāśikā division of the Karṇāta country. We have already seen that Ravi's

[1] *Śrī-viṣṇuvarma-prabhṛtīn narendrān*
nihatya jitvā pṛthivīṃ samastām ;
Utsādya kāñc-īśvara-caṇḍadaṇḍaṃ
palāśikāyāṃ samavasthitas=saḥ.

M. Govind Pai says (*Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, pp. 29-30) : " ....when after the death of Kṛṣṇavarman I his son Viṣṇuvarman ascended the Kadamba throne, his cousin-brother (?) Ravivarman of the senior branch fought with him and defeated him and his Pallava ally Caṇḍadaṇḍa, seized the Kadamba crown and enthroned himself as king. As a consequence, Viṣṇuvarman was obliged to remove his court to a place called Kuḍalūr (whence he issued his Hebbata grant)........." The verse however clearly says that Viṣṇuvarman was killed and could not therefore have removed to Kuḍalūr after the battle. As has already been pointed out, Viṣṇuvarman was possibly the king of the Palāśikā division and not of the whole Kadamba country.

[2] It may also be suggested that Viṣṇuvarman originally ruled at the city of Kuḍalūr whence his Hebbata grant was issued and that he occupied Palāśikā when he rebelled against his overlords of the Vaijayantī house.

younger brother Bhānuvarman was ruling at Palāśikā in the eleventh year of his elder brother's reign. The death of Viṣṇuvarman therefore seems to have occurred before the eleventh year of Ravi. Since Ravi appears to have ascended the throne earlier than A.D. 503, the date of Viṣṇuvarman's death appears to have fallen in the ninth or tenth decade of the fifth century.

As we have already suggested (*above*, p. 182) Caṇḍadaṇḍa, described as the lord of Kāñcī, may have been a *biruda* of Pallava Nandivarman (issuer of the Udayendiram grant) or of one of his successors. Since the twenty-second year of Nandivarman's grandfather Siṃhavarman is known from the *Lokavibhāga* to have fallen in A.D. 458, the above suggestion does not appear improbable.

The seal attached to the plates is said to have the device of a dog.

IX

HARIVARMAN

Ravivarman was succeeded by his son Harivarman who is the last known king of the main line. According to a late record (*Ep. Carn.*, VIII, Nr. 35, p. 134) an early Sāntara chief, named Tyāgi-Sāntara, married the daughter of a Kadamba king, named Harivarman. This Kadamba Harivarman seems to be no other than the son of Ravivarman. Harivarman possibly began to reign in A.D. 538. About this time the Calukyas under Pulakeśin I became the greatest political power in Western Deccan and the Kadambas of Kuntala began to decline. It is not known whether Harivarman was a contemporary of Pulakeśin I. The Calukya king however seems to have come into conflict with the Kadambas in connection with the Aśvamedha which he performed.[1] Calukya Kīrtivarman I, son and successor of Pulakeśin I, has actually been said to have defeated the king of Vaijayantī in the Mahakuta pillar inscription of Maṅgaleśa (*Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 16 ff.). In the Aihole inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 4 ff.) of Pulakeśin II, Kīrtivarman I has been described as the very night of destruction to the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas. A reference

[1] According to Bilhaṇa (*Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, 2, 64), the Calukya conquest in the southern region at first extended as far as Nāgarakhaṇḍa which is known to have formed a part of the Kadamba country. The Calukyas are generally believed to have been a foreign tribe who entered India along with the Hūṇas. The different forms of the name of the family are Calkya, Calikya, Calukya, Caulukya, Calukki, Calukika and Cālukya. The Calukya family of Anhilwāḍa is commonly known as Solaki or Solaṅki. Prof. Raychaudhuri (*op. cit.*, p. 370 f.) is inclined to connect them with the Sūlikas (evidently the same as the Sūlkīka family of Orissa) of the Haraha inscription. Dr. P. C. Bagchi connects the Calukyas with the Sogdians who, according to him, are mentioned as Śūlika or Cūlika in the Purāṇas and who spoke the Cūlikā Paiśācī. See his excellent article on Śūlika, Cūlika and Cūlikā Paiśācī in *Journ. Dept. Let.*, XXI. In that case however we have to explain the Kanarese-looking original of the name *Pulakeśin* and the celebration of Aśvamedha by the first great king of the family. Possibly they entered India centuries before the time of Pulakeśin I

to *kadamba-kadamba-kadambaka* in the Aihole record appears to suggest that Kīrtivarman I had to fight with the combined army of a confederacy of Kadamba kings. It will be seen below that in the sixth century there were other ruling branches of the Kadamba family than the lines of Śāntivarman and Kṛṣṇavarman I. In several grants, Kīrtivarman I is described as "establishing the banner of his pure fame in the territories of the hostile kings of Vanavāsī and other (cities) that had been invaded by his prowess" (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 346). After the death of Maṅgaleśa, there was a general renunciation of allegiance by the subordinate peoples, and Pulakeśin II had to reduce Banavāsī once again (*ibid*, p. 350). In the Lakshmeswar inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 111), Calukya Vikramāditya I is said to have defeated the Kadambas. The Bennur grant (*Ep. Carn.*, V, p. 594) of Kṛṣṇavarman II, grandson of the ill-fated Viṣṇuvarman who was defeated and killed by Ravivarman before the eleventh year of his reign, describes Kṛṣṇavarman II as set out on an expedition against Vaijayantī (*vaijayantī-vijaya-yātrām=abhiprasthita*). In the nineteenth year of Kṛṣṇavarman (II)'s reign however we find the king stationed at Vaijayantī (*cf.* Sirsi grant; *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 268). It is not impossible that Kṛṣṇavarman II defeated Harivarman and occupied the throne of Vaijayantī before the nineteenth year of his reign.

The following grants of king Harivarman have so far been discovered :—

1. The Halsi grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, pp. 30-31) of Harivarman was issued in the fourth year of his reign on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright half of Phālguna. It says that, at Uccaśṛṅgī, the king, at the advice of his father's brother (*pitṛvya*), named Śivaratha, gave such a promise as gladdened the heart of all people. In accordance with that promise, he made Candrakṣānta the principal donee and

gave to the possession of the *saṃgha* (sect) of Vāriṣeṇācārya of the Kūrcakas the village of Vasuntavāṭaka in the viṣaya, called Suddikundūra,[1] with all the *parihāras*. The grant was made for the purpose of providing annually, at the great eight days' sacrifice, the perpetual anointing with clarified butter (*car-ūpalepana-kriy-ārthaṃ*) for the temple of the Arhat ; whatever might remain over after that was to be devoted to the purpose of feeding the whole sect (or all sects ; *cf. sarva-saṃgha-bhojanāya*). The temple of the Arhat is said to have been built at Palāśikā by Mṛgeśa,[2] son of the general Siṁha who belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra.

The grant quotes the usual imprecatory verses and ends with a verse saying, "May the practice of sitting in abstract meditation which is the doctrine of the Arhat Vardhamāna and by which is effected even in the present age the destruction of the sins of worldly existence, flourish." It further adds an adoration to Vardhamāna, the last and the most celebrated of the Arhats of this age.

The seal attached to the plates is said to bear the legend *śrī-harivarmā*.

II. The grants of the early Kadambas generally begin with the word *svasti* or *siddhaṃ*. The Halsi grants of king Harivarman (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, pp. 31-32 ; also pp. 30-31) however have both of these words at the beginning. The present grant was issued in the fifth year of Harivarman's reign when the king seems to have been residing at the *adhiṣṭhāna* of Palāśikā. The word *adhiṣṭhāna* generally means a city ; sometimes it also signifies the capital of a king. Palāśikā was possibly a secondary capital of the kings

1 In *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XII, p. 358, it has been suggested that Suddikundūra is to be identified with Siddhakedāra in Triparvata, mentioned in the Devagiri grant of Yuvarāja Devavarman. Since however Siddhakedāra was presumably the name of a field (or village; *kedāra* means 'field') and Suddikundūra was that of a *viṣaya*, the identification is doubtful.

2 Siṁha may have been the general of Mṛgeśavarman and named his son after his master.

of Vaijayantī from the time of Viṣṇuvarman's death and the annexation of the Palāśikā division by Ravivarman.

The grant records the gift of a village, called Marade, for the use of the holy people (*sādhu-jan-opayog-ārthaṃ*) and for the purpose of *pūjā-saṃskāra* of a Caityālaya. The Caityālaya is said to have been the property of a sect of Śramaṇas, called Ahariṣṭi (*ahariṣṭi-samāhvaya-saṃgh-ānvaya-vastu*). The Head of the Caityālaya was possibly the *ācārya* Dharmanandin. The word *śramaṇa* signifies a Buddhist or a Jain religious mendicant or ascetic. The favour shown by Harivarman and his forefathers to the Jains suggests that this Caityālaya was a Jain temple. Jain adorations and *maṅgalas* are however absent in this record. Was it written by a non-Jain ?

The grant is said to have been made at the request of a Rājā, named Bhānuśakti, who belonged to the Sendraka family. The Sendraka chief Bhānuśakti who appears to have been the ruler of the Palāśikā division was evidently a feudatory of Harivarman.

Like other grants of the family, the record ends with some imprecatory verse. The seal attached to the plates bears the legend *śrī-harivarmaṇā* which is preceded and followed by *svastika*.

III. The Sangoli grant (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 165) of Harivarman begins with a verse [1] adoring lord Śambhu, and the king is expressly said to have been a *parama-māheśvara* (devout worshipper of Maheśvara). We have seen that, like many of the grants of Kākusthavarman, Mṛgeśavarman and Ravivarman, the composition of the Halsi grant (No. 1) of Harivarman exhibits remarkable influence of Jainism. That Kākusthavarman and Śāntivarman were also favourable to Śaivism as they were to Jainism is proved by the Talgunda

[1] *Jayati dhruva-bāl endu jaṭā-mukuṭa-maṇḍanaḥ,*
Asādhya-nidhanaś=śambhur=viśveṣāñ=jagatāṃ patiḥ.

inscription. If it is not supposed that Harivarman became a *parama-māheśvara* after the date of his Halsi records, it may possibly be suggested that the early Kadambas of the main line were Śaivas who were exceptionally tolerant towards Jainism.[1] It is clear that many officials of the Kadamba kings were Jains; it is also known that a general, named Śrutakīrti, who was evidently a Jain, once saved the life of Kākusthavarman.

The grant was issued when the king was at Vaijayantī. The date of the record is given as the Viṣupa or Viṣuva day on the Amāvāsyā of Aśvayuja in the eighth year of Harivarman's reign. It has been found to correspond with Tuesday, September 22, A.D. 526 and with Thursday, September 21, A.D. 545. Mr. K. N. Dikshit who edited the Sangoli grant rightly prefers the second date. Kadamba Harivarman thus appears to have ascended the throne about A.D. 538.

The grant records the gift of a village, called Tedāva, with the *pravibhāgas* (literally, divisions; sic. *parihāras?*), *dakṣiṇā* and libations of water. The recipients were Śivaśarman, Prajāpatiśarman, Dhātṛśarman, Nandiśarman and Dharmaśarman of the Kaimbala gotra; Vaikuṇṭhaśarman, Vasuśarman, Nāgaśarman and Maṇḍanaśarman of the Kālāśa gotra; Viṣṇuśarman, Prajāpatiśarman and Pitṛśarman of the Garga gotra; Kumāraśarman, Tvaṣṭṛśarman, Skandaśarman and Varuṇaśarman of the Kotsa gotra; Yaśośarman, Āryaśarman, Paśupatiśarman and Mitraśarman of the Śrīviṣṭha gotra; Vanaśarman of the Cauliya gotra; Prajāpatiśarman of the Valandata gotra; and Kumāraśarman of the Kāśyapa gotra.

The grant ends with the usual verses and the *maṅgala*: *siddhir=astu; namo hari-hara-hiraṇyagarbhebhyaḥ; svasti*

[1] The late tradition saying that Mayūravarman (*i.e.*, Mayūraśarman) was born of a drop of sweat that fell on the ground from the forehead of Śiva is to be noticed in this connection.

prajābhyaḥ. The adoration to the Hindu Trinity (*viz.*, Hari, Hara, and Hiraṇyagarbha, *i.e.*, Brahman) in a record wherein the king has been described as a devotee of Maheśvara seems to suggest that Harivarman was a Brahmanical Hindu with sense of exceptional religious toleration.

CHAPTER II[1]

EARLY KADAMBAS : KṚṢṆAVARMAN'S LINE

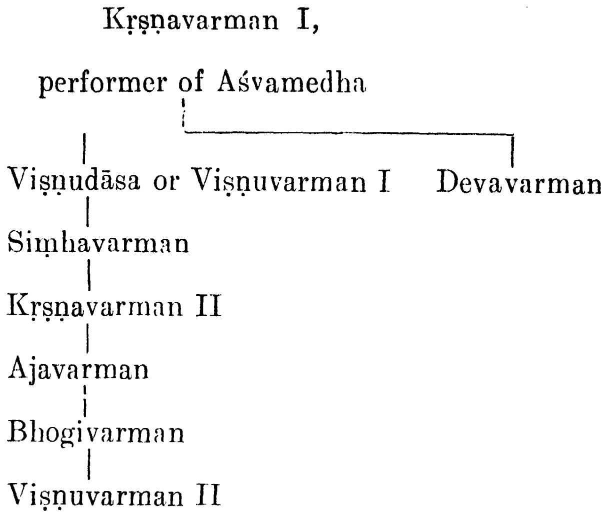
I

KṚṢṆAVARMAN I

The Bennur grant (*Ep. Carn.*, V, p. 594) was issued by a Kadamba Dharmamahārāja, named Kṛṣṇavarman II, who claims to have been the son of Siṃhavarman, grandson of Viṣṇudāsa and great-grandson of Rājarāja Kṛṣṇavarman I. Kṛṣṇavarman II has been described in this record as belonging to the Kadamba family which was rendered pure by the *avabhṛtha* bath taken during at the end of an Aśvamedha sacrifice. Viṣṇudāsa, grandfather of Kṛṣṇavarman II, calls himself Viṣṇuvarma-Dharma-mahārāja and the son of the *aśvamedha-yājin* (performer of the Horse-sacrifice) Dharmamahārāja Kṛṣṇavarman I in his own Birur grant (*ibid*, VI, p. 91). According to the Devagiri grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 33), Yuvarāja Devavarman, dear son (*priya-tanaya*) of the *aśvamedha-yājin* Dharmamahārāja Kṛṣṇavarman I, appears to have been in charge of the Triparvata division of the Kadamba kingdom. From the Tagare plates (*Mys. Ach. Surv.*, *A. R.*, 1918, p. 35) of the Kadamba Mahārāja Bhogivarman, which describes the Kadamba family as sanctified by the celebration of Aśvamedha, we get the names of the following descendants of Kṛṣṇavarman II—his son Ajavarman, grandson Mahārāja Bhogivarman and great-grandson Viṣṇuvarman (II). From the evidence of the above inscriptions therefore the following genealogy of the

[1] This chapter was originally published in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XV, pp. 301-19.

Early Kadambas is drawn :—



The exact relation of this line of kings with the line of Mayūraśarman is not yet established beyond doubt. We have seen that, according to the Birur grant, the Kadamba Dharmamahārāja Viṣṇuvarman I, son of Kṛṣṇavarman I, is said to have granted a village, called Kataṭṭāka, in the Sindhuthayā-rāṣṭra, with the permission of (*anujñāpya*) his *jyeṣṭhapitā* (father's elder brother) Śāntivarma-Dharmamahārāja.[1] Śāntivarman has been described as *raṇa-rabhasa-pravarttad-aṣṭādaśa-maṇḍapika-maṇḍita-vaijayantī-tilaka-samagra-karṇāṭa-bhūvarga-bhartā*. We have also seen that, according to a Halsi grant of Ravivarman, that king is known to have killed king Viṣṇuvarman, extirpated the latter's Pallava ally Caṇḍadaṇḍa and established himself at Palāśikā which was

[1] From the cases of Bhānuvarman and Bhānuśakti we have seen that the governors of divisions of the Kadamba kingdom were called Rājā. In the Birur grant however both Śāntivarman and Viṣṇuvarman are called Dharma-mahārāja. There may have been a difference in the position of Viṣṇuvarman with that of governors like Bhānuvarman and Bhānuśakti. He was possibly a subordinate king. In this connection, it is interesting to note that, in the Penukonda plates (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 331 ff.) of *circa* 475 A.D., the Pallava overlord has been mentioned as Skandavarma-*Mahārāja*, while his Gaṅga feudatory has been called Mādhava-*Mahādhirāja*.

possibly the headquarters of Viṣṇuvarman's kingdom. Since Viṣṇuvarman was killed in the early years of Ravivarman's reign, it is not unnatural to suppose that the former's *jyeṣṭha-pitā* Śāntivarman, mentioned in the Birur grant of the third regnal year, is no other than Ravivarman's grandfather Śāntivarman, son of Kākusthavarman.

The above identification has, however, been challenged by a recent writer on the subject, who points out that Viṣṇuvarman has been called *śāntivara-mahārāja-pallavendrābhiṣikta* (installed by the Pallava king Śāntivara-mahārāja) in the Hebbata grant and suggests that Śāntivarman, *jyeṣṭha-pitā* of Viṣṇuvarman, is to be identified with this Pallava king, named Śāntivara (*i.e.*, Śāntivarman). See M. Govind Pai, *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, p. 21.

The suggestion is ingenious; but there are difficulties in the way of accepting it as true without further evidence. Śāntivarman has been called the *jyeṣṭha-pitā* (father's elder brother) of Viṣṇuvarman. Though terms of relation were possibly rather loosely used in ancient time as they are now, this epithet would ordinarily suggest that Śāntivarman belonged to the Kadamba family. The suggestion that " not only one's father's elder brother.........is called as *jyeṣṭha-pitṛ*, but the husband of one's mother's elder sister is also called as such" can hardly be accepted without definite proof. Moreover, the *jyeṣṭha-pitā* of Viṣṇuvarman is described as " lord of the lands of the entire Karṇāṭa country adorned with (the capital) Vaijayantī." This is hardly applicable to a Pallava king who presumably had his own kingdom outside the Karṇāṭa-deśa. It is not impossible that the Kadamba kings prior to Kṛṣṇavarman I were feudatories to the Pallavas ; but the above passage seems to suggest something more than mere suzerainty, and a theory that the whole of Karnāṭa, *i. e.*, the entire Kadamba country, was, about the middle of the fifth century A. D., ruled by a Pallava king, named

Śāntivara, cannot be accepted as certain without conclusive evidence. It must also be noticed that no king, named Śāntivara, is as yet known to have belonged to the powerful Pallava houses of Kāñcī and of the Nellore-Guntur region. In the present state of our knowledge, therefore, it is better to take the Dharmamahārāja Śāntivarman, *jyeṣṭha-pitā* of Viṣṇuvarman I, to be the same as the son of Kākusthavarman and grandfather of Viṣṇuvarman's later contemporary Ravivarman. Kṛṣṇavarman I, father of Viṣṇuvarman I, would thus appear to have been a son of Kākusthavarman and a younger brother of Śāntivarman. Since Kṛṣṇavarman I seems to have been dead at the time when his son was ruling as a feudatory Dharmamahārāja under his elder brother Śāntivarman, he possibly usurped the throne of Kākusthavarman and ruled before Śāntivarman. The fact that Śāntivarman, elder brother of Kṛṣṇavarman I, has been described not as the eldest son,[1] but as a *priya-tanaya* (favourite son) or *priya-hita-tanaya* (favourite and beloved son) of Kākusthavarman (see *Ind., Ant.*, VI, pp. 24, 28) suggests that the eldest brother of Śāntivarman and Kṛṣṇavarman I, died and that his death was the cause of a struggle for the throne among the younger brothers of whom Kṛṣṇavarman I came out eventually victorious.

We have seen that Viṣṇuvarman I, son of Kṛṣṇavarman I, was installed on the throne by a Pallava king, named Śāntivara. The cause of this seems to be the fact that though Viṣṇuvarman was the eldest son and the rightful heir to the

[1] Eldest sons are generally specified in the Kadamba grants. A Halsi grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 24) of Mṛgeśavarman says, *śrī kākustha-narendrasya sūnur=bhānur=iv=āparaḥ, śrī-śāntivaravarm=eti rājā rājīva-locanaḥ; ....tat-priya-jyeṣṭha-tanayaḥ śrī-mṛgeśa-narādhipaḥ*. Another Halsi grant (*ibid*, p. 28) of Ravivarman says, *śrīmat-kākustha-rāja-priya-hita-tanayaḥ śāntivarm-āvan-īśaḥ, tasy=aiva ca jyaiṣṭha-sūnuḥ prathita-pṛthu-yaśāḥ śrī-mṛgeśo nar-eśaḥ*. It will be seen that while Mṛgeśavarman is described as the eldest son of Śāntivarman, the latter is described as a favourite son only.

throne of Kṛṣṇavarman I, he was a neglected son of his father. According to the Devagiri grant, Devavarman, who was the *priya-tanaya* (favourite son) of Kṛṣṇavarman I, was made the Yuvarāja (crown-prince, *i.e.*, heir) in preference to his eldest brother Viṣṇuvarman. It may be conjectured that Viṣṇuvarman, after receiving this ill-treatment from his father, removed to the court of the Pallava king Śāntivara in despair. We have seen that Viṣṇuvarman probably ruled at Palāśikā when he was killed by Ravivarman. It is possible that he received that territory with the help of the Pallavas who, as we shall see, defeated and probably killed his father Kṛṣṇavarman I. He appears, however, to have transferred his allegiance to his *jyeṣṭha-pitā* Śāntivarman, son of Kākusthavarman, who possibly became the king of Vaijayantī after the defeat and death of his younger brother Kṛṣṇavarman I.[1]

Mr. G. M. Moraes says (*op. cit.*, p. 29) that during the reign of Śāntivarman, his younger brother Kṛṣṇavarman I, "had been ruling in the capacity of viceroy over the southern provinces of the empire. For the Birur plates of Vishṇuvarma, while describing Śāntivarma, the grand-uncle (? father's elder brother) of Vishṇuvarma, as 'the master of the entire Karṇāṭa region of the earth,' clearly specify that his younger brother Krishṇavarma 'was sovereign of the southern region.' Now the same plates record a grant made by Vishṇuvarma during his father Krishṇavarma's life. This grant was nevertheless made 'with the permission of Śāntivarma-Dharmamahārāja.' This evidently shows that the donor as well as Krishṇavarma, the father of the

[1] It may be conjectured that Kṛṣṇavarman I was a king of the Triparvata division of the Karṇāṭa country, while Viṣṇuvarman, hostile to his father, was a king of Palāśikā under the Kadamba house of Vaijayantī. If such was the case, the celebration of Aśvamedha by Kṛṣṇavarman I, described as the *dakṣiṇāpatha-vasumatī-vasu-pati*, becomes quite meaningless. Moreover, that conjecture does not explain how Kṛṣṇavarman I could be a viceroy of Śāntivarman.

donor, occupied a subordinate position under Śāntivarma." Moraes further thinks that, after the death of Śāntivarman, Kṛṣṇavarman I broke up relations with his nephew Mṛgeśavarman and became the founder of a southern branch of the Kadamba family, which ruled from Triparvata (*ibid*, pp. 30-31). None of the above statements however stands to reason.

The evidence of the Birur grant has been taken to prove that Kṛṣṇavarman I was a viceroy of the southern districts of the Kadamba empire under Śāntivarman. Three points are however to be noticed in this connection. Firstly, in the same grant Kṛṣṇavarman I has been called *aśvamedha-yājin* (performer of the Horse-sacrifice). I have shown (see *above*, pp. 17 f.; 124 ff.; also Appendix *below*) from the evidence of the *śāstras* and inscriptions that "a subordinate king could never perform the Aśvamedha sacrifice." Kṛṣṇavarman I therefore could not be a feudatory or a viceroy of Śāntivarman, but was certainly an independent king himself. Secondly, the same grant calls him *dakṣiṇāpatha-vasumatī-vasu-pati* (lord of the riches of the land of Dakṣiṇāpatha) which clearly shows that Kṛṣṇavarman I claimed a sort of suzerainty over the whole of the Deccan. The word *dakṣiṇāpa*[tha] of the grant cannot be taken to mean the southern part of the Kadamba kingdom. "Lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha" seems to have been the hereditary title of the great Sātavāhana kings. As we have already noticed, Śatakarṇi, husband of Nāganikā, is called *dakṣiṇāpathapati*, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi has been called Dakṣiṇā-path-eśvara, and the Sātavāhana, contemporary of the Śaka Satrap Rudradāman, is called Dakṣiṇāpatha-pati Sātakarṇi. The significance of the claim of Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman I to have been "lord of the riches of the land of Dakṣiṇāpatha" is possibly to be found in his performance of the Aśvamedha which cannot be celebrated without

digvijaya (*loc. cit.*). In this connection, we should also notice that in the Devagiri grant Kṛṣṇavarman I has been called *ek-ātapatra* (possessor of the sole umbrella), which, as Mr. Moraes himself suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 39 note), "is indicative of the universal sovereignty." This epithet at least shows that he was an independent ruler of some importance. It is also to be noticed that he has been called Rājarāja in the Bennur grant of his great-grandson Kṛṣṇavarman II. The third important point in this connection is that the grant recorded in the Birur plates could hardly be "made by Vishṇuvarma during his father Krishṇavarma's life," as Mr. Moraes would let us believe. The donor of the Birur grant was Śrī-Viṣṇuvarma-Dharmamahārāja, eldest son of Kṛṣṇavarma-Dharmamahārāja. Since Viṣṇuvarman has been called Dharmamahārāja, he was obviously a crowned king at the time of issuing the Birur grant. Kṛṣṇavarman I could not have been reigning then as the overlord of his son, because Viṣṇuvarman is reported to have granted lands with the permission of his *jyeṣṭha-pitā* Śāntivarman. It therefore appears that Kṛṣṇavarman I died before the end of Śāntivarman's rule and could not therefore have been the founder of a southern branch of the Kadamba family after the death of Śāntivarman. It is most likely, as has been suggested above, that he died before the beginning of Śāntivarman's rule. There is nothing in the Birur grant to prove that Kṛṣṇavarman I was a viceroy of Śāntivarman; it is, on the other hand, certain that he was a great and independent king who performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice.

Mr. Moraes thinks that the Devagiri grant was issued when Kṛṣṇavarman I "set up as an independent sovereign;" and that the Birur grant was issued some time earlier when he was still a viceroy of Śāntivarman (*op. cit.*, pp. 30-31). This view too is untenable. The Devagiri grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 34) was issued by Devavarma-Yuvarāja, dear son

of Dharmamahārāja Kṛṣṇavarman I. It is clear that this grant was issued during the reign of Kṛṣṇavarman I himself. The Birur grant (*Ep. Carn.*, VI, p. 91) was issued, as we have seen, by the Kadamba Dharmamahārāja Viṣṇuvarman, who presumably ruled after his father Kṛṣṇavarma-Dharmamahārāja.

Only one record of the time of Kṛṣṇavarman I has so far been discovered. It is the grant of Yuvarāja Devavarman found at Devagiri in the Karajgi taluka of the Dharwar district. Kṛṣṇavarman I appears to have appointed the crown-prince governor of the Triparvata division of the Kadamba kingdom, which probably comprised parts of the present district of Darwar in the Bombay Presidency. The Triparvata division seems to have formed the northern part of the Karṇāṭa country.

The Devagiri grant was issued by Yuvarāja Devavarman, dear son of Kṛṣṇavarman I Dharmamahārāja who celebrated the Aśvamedha sacrifice, probably when the Yuvarāja was at the city of *śrī-vijaya*-Triparvata. By this record, a piece of land called Siddhakedāra[1] in the Triparvata division was granted to the Yāpanīya *saṃgha* (or *saṃghas*) for the purpose of the glory of repairing anything that may be broken (*bhagna-saṃskāra*) in and of the performance of worship at the Caityālaya of the holy Arhat. It is also recorded that Devavarman granted the lands to the Arhat Jaina. The record ends with the benediction, "Victorious is the Arhat, the lord of the three worlds, the maker of the good of all people, the destroyer of passion and other enemies, the eternal one, the lord having eternal knowledge."[2]

[1] A recent writer thinks that Siddhakedāra (in Triparvata) is the same as Suddikundura mentioned in the Halsi grant of the fourth year of Harivarman. Since Suddikundūra was the name of a *viṣaya*, the identification is doubtful.

[2] *Jayaty = arhaṃs = trilokeśaḥ sarva-bhūta-hitaṅkaraḥ*
Rāg-ādy-ari-haro = 'nanto = 'nanta-jñāna-dṛg = īśvaraḥ.

In this record Kṛṣṇavarman I, father of the Yuvarāja, has been called *samar-ārjita-vipul-aiśvarya* and *rāja-viśeṣa-ratna.* The epithet *ek-ātapatra* shows that Kṛṣṇavarman I claimed to have been a paramount sovereign. The king is also called *nāgajān = ākramya dāy-ānubhūta* which has been explained as "who enjoyed a heritage that was not to be attained by persons of Nāga descent," or as "who enjoyed his heritage after attacking some chieftains of Nāga descent." The reading of the passage is however doubtful and the interpretation cannot therefore be taken as perfectly established. The former interpretation would suggest the Nāgas to have been the Cuṭu-Śātakarṇis, but the latter would possibly suggest the Sendrakas [1] of Nāgarakhaṇḍa.

There is an oval and worn out seal attached to the plates. It has the devise of some animal standing towards the proper right but with its head turned round to the left. There is also the figure of a god or a man leaning against it or sitting on it. The animal may be meant for a horse or bullock, but Fleet suggests that it may also be a deer with horns.

According to the evidence of the Bannahalli plates (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 16) of Kṛṣṇavarman II, Kṛṣṇavarman I married a girl of the Kekaya family which, as we have seen, probably ruled in the modern Chitaldrug district of Mysore. His eldest son Viṣṇuvarman was born of this Kekaya princess.

[1] For the Nāga connection of the Cuṭu-Śātakarṇis, see *above*, 158 n. In the Lakshmeswar inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 110), the Sendrakas are described as belonging to the Bhujagendra lineage.

[2] Govinda Pai thinks (*Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XII, p. 361 ff) that Devavarman was the son of Kṛṣṇavarman II. He wrongly takes Devavarman to be the eldest son of his father simply because he was the Yuvarāja. There are however numerous instances in history to show that a favourite younger son was sometimes made heir to the throne in preference to the neglected eldest son. The suggestion moreover is untenable in view of the fact that the Devagiri grant describes the father of Devavarman as the performer of the Aśvamedha which undoubtedly refers to Kṛṣṇavarman I. Kṛṣṇavarman II

A stone-inscription of a Kekaya chief, named Śivanandavarman, has been discovered at Anaji in the Davanegere taluka of the Chitaldrug district. According to this record, Śivanandavarman, after the loss of his country and the defeat of Kṛṣṇarāja's army in the tumultuous battle that took place between Naṇakkāsa (?) Pallava-rāja and Kṛṣṇavarma-rāja, with a tranquillized heart, lay on a bed of *darbha* and became desirous of going to heaven. Possibly he burnt himself to death. We have seen that Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman I was matrimonially connected with the Kekayas. This fact and the palaeographical standard of the Anaji record support the identification of this Kṛṣṇarāja or Kṛṣṇavarma-rāja with Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman I. Some scholars think that Śivanandavarman was a son of Kṛṣṇavarman I and was possibly identical with Devavarman. The suggestion, however, is untenable in view of the fact that Śivanandavarman is described as belonging to the Ātreya gotra and to the Kekaya family which was a Soma-vaṃśa. The Kadamba family, on the other hand, was of the Mānavya or Āṅgirasa gotra and was never connected with the lunar race.

Śivanandavarman may have been a relative and feudatory of Kṛṣṇavarman I. The relation of the *kṣaya* (loss, ruin) of his own country with the defeat of Kṛṣṇarāja's army and of his becoming *praśamita-hṛdaya* and desirous of going to heaven, however, is not quite clear. *Praśamita-hṛdaya* (having one's heart tranquillized) has been wrongly taken by previous writers in the sense that the defeat of Kṛṣṇavarman broke the heart of Śivanandavarman (see *infra*). Kṛṣṇavarman I possibly died in this encounter with the Pallavas or was dethroned as a result of this defeat.

never performed any Horse-sacrifice. The Sirsi grant (*Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 268) of Kṛṣṇavarman II, which describes him as belonging to the Kadamba family that was *aśvamedh-ābhiṣikta* (having taken the bath, *i e.*, rendered pure, by the *avabhṛtha* bath at the end of a Horse-sacrifice) never suggests that Kṛṣṇavarman II was installed during an Aśvamedha.

II

VIṢṆUVARMAN I

Viṣṇuvarman was the son of king Kṛṣṇavarman I by a princess of the Kekaya family. He has been described as *kaikeya-sutāyām=utpanna* in the Bannahalli grant of his grandson Kṛṣṇavarman II. We have seen that though he was the eldest son of his father, one of his younger brothers, by name Devavarman who was the favourite son of Kṛṣṇavarman I, was made Yuvarāja in preference to him. As a consequence, he appears to have left his father's kingdom and taken shelter in the court of a Pallava king, named Śāntivara. According to the Hebbata grant of Viṣṇuvarman he was anointed by the Pallava king Śāntivara-mahārāja. If the identification of his *jyeṣṭha-pitā* Śāntivarman, mentioned in the Birur grant, with the son of Kākusthavarman is to be believed, he seems to have transferred his allegiance to the kings of Vaijayantī. Before the eleventh year of Ravivarman however he appears to have rebelled against the authority of his overlords and, as a result, was killed by Ravivarman, grandson of Śāntivarman. The Palāśikā division, over which he seems to have ruled, was annexed by the victor and the victor's brother Bhānuvarman was made the governor of that division.

Only two grants of the time of Viṣṇuvarman have so far been discovered.

The Birur grant (*Ep. Carn.*, VI, p. 91) of Viṣṇuvarman begins with a verse in adoration to the Hindu trinity—Hara, Nārāyaṇa, and Brahman.[1] The Kadamba Dharmamahārāja Viṣṇuvarman is here called the eldest son of Dharmamahā-

[1] *Hara-nārāyaṇa-brahma-tritayāya-namas=sadā*
Śūla-cakr-ākṣasūtr-odgha-bhava-bhāsita-pāṇine.

rāja Kṛṣṇavarman I who has been described as "lord of the riches of the land of Dakṣiṇāpatha" and as "performer of the Horse-sacrifice." As we have already suggested Kṛṣṇavarman I seems to have claimed a sort of suzerainty over the whole of the Deccan. Such a vague claim may have originated from his performance of the Aśvamedha which could not be celebrated without *dig-vijaya*. The epithet *vikaśita-sac-chatr-āvataṃsa* applied to him in this record possibly means the same thing as his epithet *śaśi-sadṛś-aik-ātapatra* in the Devagiri grant of his favourite younger son Devavarman. He is also described as *parama-brahmaṇya-śaraṇya* and is said to have acquired fame in battles.

The grant was made on the fifth lunar day of the bright half of Phālguṇa in the third year of the king's reign. By it the king made, with libations of water and *dakṣiṇā*, a gift of a village, called Kataṭṭāka, in the Sindhuthayā-rāṣṭra, along with the boundary of the road to Nandapada, the bridge on the river called Karṇṇesaka, the Cesāpali (lands?) and a field measuring two hundred *nivartas* (*i. e.*, *nivartanas*). The recipients of the grant were eighty-five Brāhmaṇas, among whom were—Bhava, Kolana, Śiva, Yajña and Sarva of the Kurukutsa gotra ; Meruśarman and Somaśarman of the Hārīta gotra ; Bhava, Hara and others of the Kāśyapa gotra ; Deva of the Ātreya gotra ; Yuvu and Ukti of the Vāśiṣṭha gotra ; Paṇḍa, Yajña, Nāga and Bhṛta of the Vātsya gotra ; Bhava and Soma of the Kauśika gotra ; Bhūtiśarman of the Kauṇḍinya gotra ; Bhṛta of the Purukutsa gotra ; and Bhūtiśarman of the Bhāradvāja gotra. The word *ārya* is suffixed to the names excepting those which end in the word *śarman*. This fact shows that *Ārya* (the same as modern Ayyar) and Śarman became cognomens in the South as early as the time of this record.

The *tāmra-śāsana* was endowed with the *parihāras*, called *atteṃara-viṭṭika* (sic. *antaḥkara-viṣṭika*) and *abhida-pradeśa* (sic. *abhaṭa-praveśa*), which have already been explained.

The most important point in the record, however, is that the grant is said to have been made after getting the permission of (*anujñāpya*) Viṣṇuvarman's *jyeṣṭha-pitā* Śāntivarman who was the lord of the entire Karṇāṭadeśa with its capital at Vaijayantī. It is generally held that this Śāntivarman is to be identified with the Kadamba king of that name, who was the son of Kākusthavarman and father of Mṛgeśavarman. A recent writer on the subject however thinks that this king is to be identified with the Pallava king Śāntivara who, according to the Hebbata grant, installed Viṣṇuvarman. As we have already admitted, it is difficult, until further evidence is forthcoming, to be definite as regards the relation of the line of Kṛṣṇavarman I with the Early Kadambas of Mayūraśarman's line. We have also seen that in the present state of our knowledge it is better to take king Śāntivarman of the Birur grant to be the same as the Kadamba king who was the son of Kākusthavarman. Kṛṣṇavarman I was possibly a son of Kākusthavarman and a younger brother of Śāntivarman.

Any one who would cause disturbances to the donees is said to be committing the sins of *brahma-strī-go-mātṛ-pitṛ-ācārya-bhrātṛ-vadha*, *guru-dāra-gamana* and *vaṃś-otsādana*. The grant also quotes the usual verses referring to *pañca-mahāpātaka*, etc.

The Hebbata grant (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A. R., 1925, p. 98) begins with the auspicious word *svasti* and a verse in the *anuṣṭubh* metre adoring Viṣṇu and beginning with the words *jitaṃ bhagavatā*.[1] In this record, Viṣṇuvarma-Mahārāja has been called a *parama-brahmaṇya* and an expert in all the *śāstras* and *kalās* ; *cf.* his epithets *gāndharva-hastiśikṣā-dhanurvedeṣu vatsarāj-endr-ārjuna-samena śabd-ārtha-nyāya-viduṣā* in the Bannahalli grant of his grandson (*infra*).

[1] *Jitaṃ bhagavatā tena viṣṇunā yasya vakṣasi.*
Śrīs=svayaṃ bhāti devaś=ca nābhi-padme pitāmahaḥ.

He is also described as the *jyeṣṭha-priya-tanaya* of the *aśvamedha-yājin* Kṛṣṇavarma-Mahārāja and as installed by Śāntivara-Mahārāja-Pallavendra. We have seen that Kṛṣṇavarman I made his younger son Devavarman the Yuvarāja in preference to his eldest son Viṣṇuvarman who could not therefore have been a *priya-tanaya* of his father. The mention of Viṣṇuvarman as the "dear son" of Kṛṣṇavarman I in the Hebbata grant of the fifth year of the former may therefore be taken as an erroneous exaggeration.[1]

The grant was issued on the full-moon day of Kārttika in the fifth regnal year of Viṣṇuvarman when the king was residing at the *adhiṣṭhāna* (city or capital) of Kūḍalūr. We do not definitely know whether he occupied Palāśikā when he rebelled against the house of Vaijayantī.

By this grant the king made an *agrahāra* of the village called Herbbaṭa in the Sāṭṭipalli-Jāripāṭa (division) of the Mahiṣa-viṣaya and offered it with *dakṣiṇā* and libations of water, in accordance with the *brahmadeya-nyāya*, to a Yajurvedīya Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Badira family (or clan) and the Gautama gotra. The name of the Mahiṣa-viṣaya (*cf.* Māhiṣika in the Purāṇic lists) is evidently the source from which the present Mysore (=Mahiṣūr) has derived its name. The *agrahāra* was made free from *daṇḍa* (fine), *viṣṭi* (unpaid labour) and *kara* (tax).

The record ends with a reference to the five great sins, but does not quote the imprecatory verses.

1 It may be conjectured that Viṣṇuvarman became his father's favourite son after the death of Yuvarāja-Devavarman. But that does not explain the celebration of Aśvamedha by Kṛṣṇavarman and the installation of Viṣṇuvarman by a Pallava king.

III

Kṛṣṇavarman II

The son of Viṣṇuvarman I was Siṃhavarman who has been described as Mahārāja of the Kadambas (or a Mahārāja belonging to the Kadamba family) in the Bannahalli plates of his son Kṛṣṇavarman II. We do not know where Siṃhavarman became king after the death of his father and the annexation of his paternal kingdom, *i.e.*, the Palāśikā division, by Ravivarman. No record of his time has as yet come to light.

Siṃhavarman's son was Kṛṣṇavarman II who was a powerful king. We do not definitely know where he originally ruled. An inscription recording his gift of a village in the Sendraka-viṣaya (the Nāgarakhaṇḍa region forming parts of the present Shimoga district of Mysore) appears to suggest that his rule was at first limited in that part of the Kadamba kingdom. He is known to have led a successful expedition against Vaijayantī and to have conquered the Vaijayantī division ultimately. It is not certain whether he took Vaijayantī from Harivarman or from a member of another junior line of the Early Kadambas, which is known to have occupied Vaijayantī temporarily.

Three records of the time of Kṛṣṇavarman II have so far been discovered.

I. The Bennur (Belur hobli) copper-plate grant (*Ep. Carn.*, V, p. 594) of the Kadamba Dharma-mahārāja Kṛṣṇavarman II begins with the Vaiṣṇavite adoration *svasti jitaṃ bhagavatā* which is in consonance with the verse speaking of the glory of lord Hari at the beginning of the Bannahalli grant of the same king.

The adoration is followed by three verses which say that king Kṛṣṇavarman II was the son of Siṃhavarman, grandson of Viṣṇudāsa and great-grandson of Rājarāja Kṛṣṇavarman I who, like king Yudhiṣṭhira of old, gave perpetually food to thousands of Brāhmaṇas. Kṛṣṇavarman II. is said to have made the Brahmottara (*brahmutrā* ?) again and again (*śaśvad-brahmottaraṃ kurvan*). In this record the Kadamba family is described as "rendered pure by the *avabhṛtha* bath of the Aśvamedha." This undoubtedly refers to the Horse-sacrifice celebrated by the reigning king's great-grandfather Kṛṣṇavarman I.

The most important point in the Bennur record is that the grant is said to have been made by the king when he had already set out on a military expedition against Vaijayantī (*vaijayantī-vijaya-yātrām = abhiprasthita*).[1] This shows beyond doubt that at the time when the Bennur grant was issued Kṛṣṇavarman II was not the ruler of that division of the Kadamba kingdom which had its headquarters at Vaijayantī. We have seen that Viṣṇuvarman, grandfather of Kṛṣṇavarman II, was killed by Ravivarman before the eleventh year of Ravi's reign. It is thus clear that the descendants of Śāntivarman and Kṛṣṇavarman I were ruling simultaneously at different parts of the Kadamba country.

The grant records the gift of the *rāja-bhāga-daśabandha* (the tenth part of the king's share or the tenth part which was the king's share[2]?) and also a piece of land measuring six *nivartanas* in a village called Palmaḍi in the Sendraka-viṣaya. Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar published a paper on the

1 Some scholars think that Kṛṣṇavarman II led an expedition *from* Vaijayantī. The passage *vaijayantī-vijaya-yātrā* clearly shows that this interpretation is untenable.

2 *Daśabandha* has been called the king's share in books on law; see, *e.g.*, Manu, VIII, verse 107. Kullūka in his gloss on this verse says, *avyādhitaḥ sākṣī ṛṇa-dān-ādi-vyāpāreṣu tri-pakṣa-paryantaṃ yadi sākṣyaṃ na vadet tadā tad-vivād-āspadaṃ sarvam = ṛṇam = uttamarṇasya dadyāt, tasya ca ṛṇasya daśamaṃ bhāgaṃ rājño daṇḍaṃ dadyāt.*

term *daśabandha* in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, August, 1934, pp. 174-80. Dikshitar however could not find out any reference to the term in such an early charter as the Bennur grant of Kṛṣṇavarman II. *Daśabandha* (as also the term *pañca-bandha*) is a legal expression found in the *Arthaśāstra* (III, chs. ii, xiii, etc.) and the Smṛtis (*e.g.*, Manu, VIII, verse 107; Vijñāneśvara on Yājñavalkya, II, 171) in connection with some offences punishable with fines. It refers to the tenth part of the sum forming the subject-matter of the suit. In South Indian inscriptions of the mediæval period the term occurs in the sense of a tax or an allowance of land or revenue as compensation for excavating a tank, well or channel (Rangacharya, *Ins. Mad. Pres.*, II, Nl. 368,797, etc.). According to H. H. Wilson (*A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue terms*, etc., London, 1755, p. 127) the Telugu word *daśabandham* means " a deduction of $\frac{1}{10}$th of the revenue on account of compensation for some public work, as the construction of a tank, etc." At the present time. ordinarily the enjoyers of the *daśabandham* rights are to undertake due repairs of irrigational works.

The grant was made by *śrīmad-dharma-mahārāja-vijaya-śiva*-Kṛṣṇavarman II on the first lunar day called *pratipad* in the bright fortnight of Pauṣa when the king was before (a *liṅga* or an idol of) Mahādeva in the great temple of the village called Iṅguṇa. It is interesting to note that, though possibly a Vaiṣṇava Kṛṣṇavarman II was praying to Mahādeva (Śiva) for success in his expedition against Vaijayantī. The present grant resembles in nature a grant of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I who is known to have made the gift of a village when he set out on an expedition against the eastern countries (*above*, p. 131 ff.) The recipient of the grant of Kṛṣṇavarman II was a Brāhmaṇa, named Bhavasvāmin, who belonged to the Hārīta gotra and is described as a Paiṅga. He was skilled in the performance of sacrifices and was well-versed in the

Chandoga. Paiṅga-Bhavasvāmin seems to have been the priest of the said temple of Mahādeva.

The gift of a village in the Sendraka-viṣaya (parts of the present Shimoga district) suggests that the district formed a part of the kingdom of Kṛṣṇavarman II. We have seen that the Sendraka *rājā* Bhānuśakti was a governor under Harivarman. If this fact may be taken to suggest that the country of the Sendrakas was a part of Harivarman's kingdom, it may be supposed that Kṛṣṇavarman II took the Sendraka-viṣaya from, and led the Vaijayantī expedition against Harivarman.

The grant ends with the usual verses and the adoration *namo viṣṇave.*

II. The Bannahalli grant (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 16) of king Kṛṣṇavarman II begins with the *maṅgala* : *oṃ svasti* and a verse[1] in adoration to lord Hari. The grant was issued in the seventh year of the king's reign on the fifth lunar day of the waxing (*i.e.*, bright) fortnight of Kārttika-māsa under the asterism called Jyeṣṭhā. Mahārāja Kṛṣṇavarman II is called the son of Mahārāja Siṃhavarman, grandson of Mahārāja Viṣṇuvarman and great-grandson of Dharma-mahārāja Kṛṣṇavarman I. Viṣṇuvarman is here said to have been born of a daughter of the Kekayas and to have been skilled in *gandharva* (music), *hasti-śikṣā* (science of elephant-rearing) and *dhanur-vidyā* (archery) like Vatsarāja, Indra and Arjuna. He is also called well-versed in *śabda, artha*[2] and *nyāya.* Kṛṣṇavarman I has been credited with the performance of Aśvamedha and with victory in many battles. The reigning king Kṛṣṇavarman II has been described as a

[1] *Jayaty=udrikta-daity-endra-bala-vīrya-vimardanaḥ*
Jagat-pravṛtti-saṃhāra-sṛṣṭi-māyā-dharo hariḥ.

[2] Śabdārtha is sometimes supposed to signify Śabda-śāstra and *artha-śāstra*; it is however interesting to note that such a phrase is generally applied to a person having literary talent, *e.g.*, Rudradāman and Śāba-Vīraṣena ; *cf.* the very similar epithet *pada-padārtha-vicāra-śuddha-buddhi* applied to Poet Umāpatidhara in the Deopara grant of Vijayasena.

parama-brahmaṇya and as "one who acquired *rājya-śrī* by his own power, strength and valour."

The grant records the gift of a village called Kolaṇallūra in the Vallāvi-viṣaya, with libations of water and with all *parihāras*, to a learned and pious Brāhmaṇa, named Viṣṇu-śarman. The grant was made at the request of Haridatta Śreṣṭhin who belonged to the Tuviyalla gotra-pravara. The Śreṣṭhin is described as *rāja-pūjita* (honoured by the king). He was a performer of the Gosahasra mahādāna.

The charter ends with the verses referring to the usual imprecation, the unresumable character of the grants and the five great sins. The *maṅgala* at the end of the record reads *svasty=astu go-brāhmaṇebhyaḥ*.

III. Another grant (*Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 268) of Kṛṣṇavarman II was discovered at Sirsi (Sirsi taluka, North Kanara district). It was issued when the king was at Vaijayantī, which fact shows that the *vaijayantī-vijaya-yātrā* that he undertook sometime before the date of this record was completely successful.

The grant records the gift of Kamakapallī in the Giri-gaḍagrāma of the Karvvaṇṇāṅgaṃ-viṣaya to a Somayājin Brāhmaṇa, named Somasvāmin, who belonged to the Vārāhi gotra and was well-versed in the *Ṛgveda*. Karvvaṇṇāṅgaṃ has been supposed to be the modern Karūr in Sirsi. The village Girigaḍa has been identified with modern Girigaḍḍe in the same taluka.

In the Sirsi grant Kṛṣṇavarman II has been described as "obtainer of *rāja-śrī* as a result of victory in many battles" and as "belonging to the Kadamba family.........which took the sacred bath at the end of an Aśvamedha sacrifice." It is strange that some recent writers have taken the passage *aśvamedh-ābhiṣiktānāṃ...... kadambānāṃ śrī-kṛṣṇavarma-mahārāja* to mean that Kṛṣṇavarman II was anointed during a Horse-sacrifice. The passage undoubtedly means the same thing as *aśvamedha-snāna-pavitrīkṛt-ātmanāṃ*

kadambānāṃ (Bennur grant of Kṛṣṇavarman II) and other similar expressions in the records of the successors of Kṛṣṇavarman I. The descendants of the Pallava *aśvamedhin* Kumāraviṣṇu use a similar expression, *e.g.*, *yathāvad-āhṛt-āśvamedhānāṃ pallavānāṃ*. The Sirsi grant of Kṛṣṇavarman II certainly refers, as his other grants unquestionably do, to the Aśvamedha performed by his great-grandfather Kṛṣṇavarman I. There is absolutely no proof to show that Kṛṣṇavarman II himself performed the Horse-sacrifice. The idea of a king's or prince's *rājy-ābhiṣeka* during the Aśvamedha is fantastic. If moreover he performed any horse-sacrifice, why do the Bannahalli and Bennur grants refer to the Aśvamedha of his great-grand-father and not of his own ? In case an Aśvamedha was performed by Kṛṣṇavarman II before the time when the Sirsi grant was issued, he himself must have been described as *aśvamedha-yājin* like his great-grandfather. No performer of the Aśvamedha is as yet known to have vaguely claimed to belong simply to an Aśvamedha-performing family. It must also be noted that he is not credited with the performance of Aśvamedha in the Tagare grant of his grandson. That the passage *aśvamedh-ābhiṣikta* (applied to the Kadamba family) does not mean Kṛṣṇavarman's being "installed during Aśvamedha" is proved beyond doubt by the Gaṅga records which refer to the Kadamba family as *avicchinn-āśvamedh-āvabhṛth-ābhiṣikta* (*abhiṣikta* by the *avabhṛtha* bath of a series of Aśvamedhas).

It is interesting to note that in many of the early Gaṅga records, Avinīta-Koṅgaṇi-Mahādhirāja, son of Mādhava-Mahādhirāja, has been called *kṛṣṇavarma-mahādhirājasya priya-bhāgineya* (dear sister's son of Kṛṣṇavarma-Mahādhi-rāja). This Kṛṣṇavarma-Mahādhirāja has been described as *śrī-mat-kadamba-kula-gagana-gabhasti-mālin* (sun in the firmament of the illustrious Kadamba family). There is however difference of opinion as regards the identification

of this Kadamba king, named Kṛṣṇavarman, mentioned in the Gaṅga records. Mr. K. N. Dikshit and some other scholars (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 166, n. 2; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 197) think that he is to be identified with the *aśvamedha-yājin* Kṛṣṇavarman I, while others are of opinion that he should be identified with the *aśvamedhin*'s great-grandson Kṛṣṇavarman II. It is believed that " there are no clues in the records to enable one to ascertain who this Kṛshṇavarma was, whether he was the first king of that name or his great-grandson " (*Kadambakula*, p. 55). The Gaṅga records however clearly show that Kṛṣṇavarma-Mahādhirāja, maternal uncle of the Gaṅga king Avinīta-Koṅgaṇi-Mahādhirāja, was not Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman I who was a performer of Aśvamedha, but his great-grandson Kṛṣṇavarman II who never celebrated any Horse-sacrifice. The Kadamba relative of the Gaṅgas is sometimes described in the Gaṅga records (see, *e.g.*, the Merkera, Nagamangala, Javali and Kadagattur plates, *Ind. Ant.*, I, p. 362; II, p. 155; *Ep. Carn.*, VI, p. 151; etc.) as *śrī-mat-kadamba-kula-gagana-gabhasti-mālin*. In some Gaṅga records (see, *e.g.*, Mallohalli and Bangalore Museum plates, *Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 133; *Ep. Carn.*, IX, p. 33; etc.), however, he is also described more fully as *avicchinn* (or *avical*)-*āśvamedh-āvabhṛth-ābhiṣikta-śrī-mat-kadamba-kula-gagana-gabhasti-mālin* (sun in the firmament of the illustrious Kadamba family which was wet owing to its taking the sacred bath in continuous Horse-sacrifices). The king has not been called a performer of Aśvamedha, but is said to have belonged to the Kadamba family in which Aśvamedha was celebrated. Since he is not described as an *aśvamedha-yājin*, he cannot be the same as Kṛṣṇavarman I who has that epithet in the Devagiri, Birur and Bannahalli grants of his descendants. The fact that the epithet of the relative of the Gaṅgas saying that he belonged to the Kadamba family which was *aśvamedh-*

ābhiṣikta is essentially the same as that of Kṛṣṇavarman II in the Sirsi grant (*cf. aśvamedh-ābhiṣiktānāṃ.............. kadambānāṃ śrī kṛṣṇavarma-mahārāja*) and in the Bennur grant (*cf. aśvamedh-āvabhṛtha-snāna-pavitrīkṛtātmanāṃ kadambānāṃ........dharma-mahārāja-vijaya-śiva-kṛṣṇavarmā*) shows beyond doubt that he should be identified with Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman II and not with the latter's great-grandfather Kṛṣṇavarman I. It must also be noticed that Kṛṣṇavarman I was the only performer of the Horse-sacrifice among the early Kadambas and that no Kadamba king is known to have celebrated the sacrifice before his time.[1] Only a successor of this king therefore can properly be called "belonging to the Kadamba family in which the Aśvamedha was performed." It may further be noticed that many of the grants of the successors of Śāntivarman refers to the Kadamba family as *svāmi-mahāsena-mātṛ-gaṇ-ānudhyāt-ābhiṣikta*. We do not know whether there is a covert allusion to the *avabhṛtha* of an Aśvamedha in this passage. The corresponding passage in the Sirsi grant of Kṛṣṇavarman II, which simply adds the word *aśvamedha* between the words *anudhyāta* and *abhiṣikta*, is practically the same.

The identification of the maternal uncle of Avinīta-Koṅgaṇi-Mahādhirāja with Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman II seems to be supported also by the chronology of the Early Gaṅgas. Gaṅga Durvinīta, Koṅgaṇivṛddha son of Avinīta-Koṅgaṇi, probably lived up to the middle of the seventh century. There is a record (*Ep. Carn.*, VIII, Nr. 35, p. 135) which speaks of a matrimonial relation between the Gaṅgas and the Calukyas

[1] A very late inscription found at Talgunda (*Ep. Carn*, VII, Sk. 178) says that Mayūravarman (*i.e.*, Mayūraśarman) performed no less than eighteen Aśvamedhas. We have already seen that this late tradition is to be discarded as entirely unhistorical (*above*, p. 240; *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, p. 40, note; *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, XVI, p. 163, note). The plurality of Aśvamedhas claimed for the Kadambas in the passages of the Gaṅga records is evidently an unhistorical exaggeration. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the "one" Aśvamedha performed by Samudragupta is referred to as "many" Aśvamedhas in the records of his Vākāṭaka relatives.

of Bādāmi. "Seizing in the field of battle Kāḍuvetti who was celebrated as a Rāvaṇa to the earth," it says, "and setting up his (own) daughter's son, he became formidable in the world in the heriditary kingdom of Jayasiṃha-vallabha; what a terror was this might of arm of Durvinīta!" *Kāḍuvetti* is the Dravidian expression for *Pallava*[1] and *Vallabha* was the title of the Calukya kings of Bādāmi. Jayasiṃha-vallabha is therefore the same as the grandfather of Pulakeśin I (*circa* 550-66) and the first historical figure with which the Calukyas begin their genealogy. Calukya Jayasiṃha has been called Vallabhendra and Vallabha in the Mahakuta and Aihole inscriptions respectively (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 342). It has been suggested (*Triveṇī*, I, pp. 112-20; *Kadambakula*, pp. 55-56) that the Gaṅga king Durvinīta was the father-in-law of Pulakeśin II who was defeated and killed by Pallava Narasiṃhavarman I about A.D. 642 and that it was the Gaṅga king who restored his grandson Vikramāditya I, third son of Pulakeśin II, to the throne about 654. The suggestion seems probable.

If however the above suggestion be accepted, Gaṅga Durvinīta who possibly had a very long reign appears to have lived as late as A.D. 654.[2] As Durvinīta's reign is thus known to have ended in the second half of the seventh century, it is reasonable to suppose that his father Avinītā-Koṅgaṇi could not have ruled

[1] In the same inscription, there is reference to a Kāḍuvetti of the warlike Kāñcī and his Pallava-umbrella.

[2] Dubreuil places Durvinīta in 605-50 A.D. (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 109). Durvinīta's last known inscriptional date is year 40. *Paricchedа* I of the *Avantisundarīkathā sāra* seems to speak of the Pallava king Siṃhaviṣṇu of Kāñcī, *Narendra* Viṣṇuvardhana of the Nāsik region and Durvinīta (possibly the Gaṅga king, son of Avinīta) as contemporaries. Pallava Siṃhaviṣṇu appears to be the same as Narasiṃhavarman I Siṃhaviṣṇu (son of Mahendravarman I) who ruled about the second quarter of the seventh century. *Narendra* Viṣṇuvardhana may be the same as Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, brother of Pulakesin II (609-42 A.D.), who might have been a governor of the Nasik region for some time before he was established at Piṣṭapura.

earlier than the second half of the sixth century. Kṛṣṇavarman, the maternal uncle of Avinīta-Koṅgaṇi (second half of the sixth century), thus appears to have lived about the middle of the sixth century and certainly not much earlier. We have seen that Viṣṇuvarman who saw the latest years of Śāntivarman and the early years of Ravivarman was killed before Ravi's eleventh year about the ninth or tenth decade of the fifth century. Since Śāntivarman ruled before A.D. 470 which is possibly the date of his son Mṛgeśa's accession, Kṛṣṇavarman I must be placed about the middle of the fifth century. As Viṣṇuvarman seems to have ended his rule about the end of that century, his grandson Kṛṣṇavarman II must reasonably be placed about the middle of the next century.

IV

BHOGIVARMAN

The son of Kṛṣṇavarman II was Ajavarman. No record of Ajavarman's time has as yet been discovered. We do not know whether he ascended the throne at all. The Tagare plates of his son Bhogivarman (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A. R., 1918, p. 35) do not call him Mahārāja. Mahārāja Bhogivarman's rule appears to have fallen in the second half of the sixth century. It was the time of Calukya ascendancy in Mahārāṣṭra and Kuntala. The relation of Bhogivarman with the powerful Early Calukyas of Bādāmi cannot be determined until further evidence is forthcoming. Possibly the political existence of the dynasty of Kṛṣṇavarman I ended with Bhogivarman. His son Viṣṇuvarman II (who is not mentioned as a Yuvarāja in the Tagare record) does not appear to have ascended the throne.

The Tagare grant of Mahārāja Bhogivarman begins with the word *svasti* and a verse [1] in adoration to lord Viṣṇu. In this record the Kadamba family is mentioned as rendered pure by the *avabhṛtha* bath taken at the end of the Aśvamedha which evidently refers to the sacrifice performed by the donor's ancestor Kṛṣṇavarman I. Bhogivarma-[Ma]hārāja, dear son of Ajavarman and grandson of Kṛṣṇavarma-[Ma]hārāja II (not the performer of Aśvamedha), is said to have acquired a large kingdom by the power of his own arms. He is also said to have defeated many enemies. The claim may be an exaggerated one; but it proves at least that Bhogivarman had to fight with enemies.

[1] *Jayaty=ambuja-gehāyāḥ patir=viṣṇus=sanātanaḥ (?)*
Varāha-rūpeṇa dharāṃ yo dadhāra yuga-kṣaye.

The grant was made at the request of the king's son, named Viṣṇuvarman. It is not dated. It records the gift of a *pallī* called Kiṟū-Kūḍalūr to a pious Brāhmaṇa, named Bhūtaśarman, who belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra. Kiṟū-Kūḍalūr-pallī, which reminds us the name of the Kūḍalūr-adhiṣṭhāna whence the Hebbata grant of Viṣṇuvarman was issued, is said to have been one of the twenty-four pallīs of the *mahā-grāma* called Tagare situated in the Tagare viṣaya. Tagare has been found to be a place in the Belur taluka.

It is said that the protector of the grant would enjoy the *phala* of an Aśvamedha sacrifice, but the confiscator would be loaded with the five great sins. The record quotes two verses (*bahubhir=vasudhā dattā*, etc., and *svaṃ dātuṃ sumahac=chakyaṃ*, etc.) as spoken by Manu.

The grant ends with a few lines written in the Kannaḍa language, which say that the pallī was granted with the exemption from the thirty-two imports, and seems to mention the additional grant of a house in the northern street. "The second and the fourth lines on the third plate appear to be a subsequent addition by a later hand. They tell us that Poriyaḍgaḷ granted Kiḻtivūr to Viṇṇar, as also an equal share below the tank of Kiṟu-Kūḍalūr" (*ibid*, pp. 40-41).

———

CHAPTER III

EARLY KADAMBAS : MISCELLANEOUS LINES

I

KUMĀRAVARMAN AND MĀNDHĀTĀ

Another line of the Early Kadambas, the exact relation of which with the lines of Mayūraśarman and Kṛṣṇavarman I is not definitely settled, is known from inscriptions to have ruled in the Kadamba country and for sometime even at Vaijayantī. Only two inscriptions of this line have so far been discovered. They belong to a Kadamba king, named Māndhāta-rāja (evidently a mistake for Māndhātṛrāja), or Māndhātṛvarman.[1] In the Kudgere plates (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 12) the king is called *śrī-vijaya-śiva*-Māndhātṛvarman and is said to have resided at Vaijayantī. In the Shimoga plates (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, *A. R.*, 1911, p. 32) of the same king however the issuer's name is given as Māndhāta-rāja and he is called the son of Mahārāja Kumāravarman. The explicit

[1] Māndhātṛvarman of the Kudgere grant has been thought to be different from Māndhāta-rāja of the Shimoga grant and the reign of the former had been placed before that of Kṛṣṇavarman I on the grounds that the names of the donors are not exactly the same, that the Kudgere grant begins with the word *siddham* like the Malavalli and Talgunda records and that it does not mention the Kadamba family as being rendered pure by the Aśvamedha (of Kṛṣṇavarman I). See *Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A. R., 1911, p. 35 ; *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, p. 21f. It must be noticed that the Birur grant of Viṣṇuvarman begins with *siddhaṃ* Both the Halsi grants of Harivarman begin with the expression *siddhaṃ svasti.* Are we to suppose that these princes lived before Kṛṣṇavarman I ? Again, the performance of the Aśvamedha by Kṛṣṇavarman I is not mentioned in any of the three grants of Harivarman. Does it prove that Harivarman lived before the reign of Kṛṣṇavarman I ? *Māndhāta-rāja* is most probably a copyist's mistake for *Māndhātṛ-rāja*. *Cf.* Kṛṣṇavarma rāja and Kṛṣṇarāja in the Anaji record of Śivanandavarman ; Kīrtivarman and Kīrtirāja of the Calukya records ; Vijayavarman and Vijayarāja of the Kaira grant, etc. For palaeography, see *above*, p. 57, n. 2.

statement that the king belonged to the Kadamba family which was sanctified by the Horse-sacrifice (*cf. aśvamedha-pavitrīkṛt-ānvayānāṃ...kadambānāṃ*) clearly shows that the Kadamba king, named Māndhātā or Māndhātṛvarman, ruled after the celebration of the Aśvamedha by Kṛṣṇavarman I who was the only performer of the Horse-sacrifice among the Early Kadambas. We do not know where Mahārāja Kumāravarman ruled. His son Māndhātṛvarman however is known to have reigned at Vaijayantī from where he issued the Kudgere grant in the second year of his reign. In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to place Māndhātṛvarman's reign in the period between the time of Śāntivarman and that of Harivarman. It is possible that Māndhātā became the lord of Vaijayantī for some time in the period when the Kadamba country was in a state of chaos owing to the repeated attacks of the Early Calukyas of Bādāmi. He may have conquered Vaijayantī from Harivarman or from Kṛṣṇavarman II or one of the latter's successors.

A set of copper-plates (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 12) belonging to the Kadamba king, named Māndhātṛvarman, was discovered at Kudgere in the Shimoga district. The grant was issued on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the second regnal year of the king who has been called *śrī-vijaya-śiva*-Māndhātṛvarman. The king issued the charter when he was residing at Vaijayantī.

The grant records the gift of a *kedāra* (field, land), twenty *nivartanas* by the royal measure, of the *hala* (plough-land) called Modekaraṇī within the border of Koḷāla-grāma which has been identified with modern Kolala in the Tiplur taluka of the Tumkur district of Mysore. It was made with *dakṣiṇā* and with libations of water, and was exempted from the duty of providing cots, abode and boiled rice (*a-khaṭvā-vāṣ-audana*), from the ingress of soldiers, and from internal taxes and unpaid labour (*antaḥkara-viṣṭika*). The *parihāra*

called *a-khatvā-vās-audana* has been discussed in connection with the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli grants (*above*, p. 187 f.). It is practically the same as *a-kūra-collaka-vināsi-khaṭā-[saṃ]vāsa* mentioned in the grants of Pallava Śivaskandavarman. In this connection, it is interesting to note that according to Manu (VII, verse 119) "the headman of the village should get all of what is daily payable by the villagers to the king in the shape of *anna* (food), *pāna* (drink), *indhana* (fuel) and other things." In connection with *antaḥ-kara* (internal revenue), a reference to *puṛavāyam* (external revenue) in an inscription (*S. Ind. Ins.*, III, No. 61) is interesting to note.

The recipient of the grant was a *taittirīya-sabrahmacārin*, named Devaśarman, who belonged to the Kauṇḍinya gotra. The record ends with the usual verses and says that the *paṭṭikā* was written by the Rahasyādhikṛta Dāmodaradatta. The official designation *rahasyādhikṛta* is found in other early inscriptions like the Hirahadagalli grant of Śivaskanda-varman and the Peddavegi grant of Śālaṅkāyana Nandi-varman II.

The Shimoga plates were issued on the twelfth lunar day of the bright half of Kārttika in the fifth regnal year of Māndhāta-rāja when the king was residing at *vijay*-Occhṛṅgī, that is to say, at the city of Uccaśṛṅgī. Uccaśṛṅgī has been identified with Uchchangidurga situated about three miles to the east of Moḷkālmuru in the Doḍḍeri taluka of the Chitaldrug district, Mysore (*Mys. Arch. Surv., A. R.*, 1910-11, p. 31 ; *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 285 n). We have seen that in the fourth year of king Harivarman's reign, his *pitṛvya* (father's, *i.e.*, Ravivarman's, brother) Śivaratha was probably in charge of the Uccaśṛṅgī division of the Kadamba country. It is however not known whether the Vaijayantī and Uccaśṛṅgī divisions were both taken by Māndhātā directly from Harivarman. Uccangi was the capital of the Nolambavāḍi 32,000 province (Bellary district

and parts of Mysore) under the Pāṇḍyas and probably under the Pallavas before them. The Pallavas acquired the province when they conquered Bādāmi and temporarily overthrew the Calukyas. It was occupied by the Pāṇḍyas about the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. According to a Harihar record of 1170-71, Kādamba Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Ketarasa had the hereditary title " lord of Uccaṅgigiri " (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 564).

The Shimoga grant (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A. R., 1911, p. 32) begins with the adoration : *svasti* : *jitaṃ bhagavatā*. The record speaks of the Kadmaba family as rendered pure by the sacred bath of the Horse-sacrifice which obviously refers to the Aśvamedha celebrated by Kṛṣṇavarman I. Māndhātarāja, son of Kumāravarma-Mahārāja, has been described as a successful warrior.

By this grant the Kadamba king made a gift of six *nivartanas* of land along with some materials for building a house (*gṛha-vastu*) [1] in the village of Kaggi as well as some lands in the village, called Pālgaḷinī, to a learned and pious Brāhmaṇa, named Triyamabakasvāmin, of the Ātreya gotra. The passage *pāḷgalinī-grāmasy = āñcañ = catuṣpat-kṣetraṃ* is not quite clear. Kaggigrāma has been identified with the village of the same name, situated about ten miles to the south of Channagiri in the taluka of the same name (*ibid*, p. 35).

The grant ends with the usual imprecatory verses and the benediction : *siddhir = astu*.

1 The passage *gṛha-vastunā sārddhaṃ* has been explained as " together with a house and necessaries" (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A. R., 1911, p. 35).

II

MADHUVARMAN AND DĀMODARA

Two other names of kings belonging to the Early Kadamba family are known from inscriptions. They are Madhuvarman of the record found at Tadagani in the Udagani hobli of the Shikarpur taluka (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 66) and Dāmodara of the lithic record discovered at Konnur in the Belgaum district (*Ind. Ant.*, XXI, p. 96). Their exact relation with the three lines of Early Kadamba kings already discussed cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge.

The Tadagani inscription which according to Rice belongs to *circa* 500 A.D. was issued by a Kadamba prince whose name has been written as *maduvarmmā. Maduvarmmā* is generally taken to be a mistake for *Madhuvarmā*. Mr. Govind Pai points out (*Journ. Ind. Hist*, XIII, pp. 25-26) that the name Maduvarman or Madhuvarman bears no good sense. He is therefore inclined to change the reading *śrī-maduvarmmā* as *śrī-maddevarmā* which he further corrects as *śrī-mad-devavarmmā*. The word *saṃgha* written in the Devagiri grant as *saṅga*, and names like Madurā for Madhurā, Attivarman for Hastivarman, etc., suggest that the correction *Madhuvarman* is not impossible. It may also be pointed out that many names in the early history of India do not bear any good sense. The names Dattavarman and Jalavarman of the Lakhamandal inscription (Bhandarkar, List, No. 1790) and Jātavarman of the Belava grant (*ibid*, No. 1714) may be cited as examples. Since the Sanskrit word *madhu* means "water," the names *Madhuvarman* and *Jalavarman* would mean the same thing.

As has been suggested to me by Dr. Barnett, Madhuvarman may moreover be an abbreviated form of names like Madhuripuvarman. The correction *Devavarman* may not be quite absurd, but it cannot be accepted without further evidence. Palaeography moreover seems to go against the suggestion of Govind Pai that this king ruled before Kṛṣṇavarman I. He thinks that Madhuvarman, whom he calls Devavarman, was the father of Kṛṣṇavarman I simply on the ground that the Tadagani record does not refer to the Aśvamedha of Kṛṣṇavarman I. We have seen that, excepting the Nilambur grant of Ravivarman, none of the records of Mṛgeśavarman, Ravivarman and Harivarman refers to the Aśvamedha of the usurper.

As the Tadagani epigraph is damaged, the inscription could not be fully deciphered. It seems to record the gift of some lands in the villages called Śatomahila-grāma and Ketakapāda to a Brāhmaṇa, named Nārāyaṇaśarman, who belonged to the Gautama gotra. The record ends with the usual verses. At the top of the stone there is an unfinished final verse along with the name of one Soma who seems to have belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra. The connection of this person with the grant of Madhuvarman is not known. It is also unknown to us whether Madhuvarman was a *Rājā*, *Mahārāja* or *Yuvarāja* of the Kadambas. The letters between the passages *kadambānāṃ* and *śrī-maduvarmmā* could not be deciphered. His position among the Early Kadamba princes is therefore bound to remain uncertain until further evidence is forthcoming.

The name of *nṛpa* Dāmodara, born in the family of the Kadambas, is found in a verse inscribed on a rock near Konnur, at the falls of the Ghaṭaprabhā in the Belgaum district. The inscription is in the so-called box-headed characters and is probably not later than the beginning of the sixth century A.D. It has been noticed however that above the verse the name *śrī-Dāmodara* is twice inscribed

on the same rock, once in the usual box-headed characters and once in the characters used in the records of the Early Calukyas. Does this fact suggest that Dāmodara lived in the period when the northern part of the ancient Kadamba kingdom was already occupied by the Calukyas? Is it possible that Dāmodara was a feudatory or viceroy of a king of the Early Calukya family which was established about the middle of the sixth century at Bādāmi in the Bijapur district of the Bombay Presidency ? It is however impossible to be definite on this point in the present state of our knowledge. Govind Pai presumes (*Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, p. 32) that Dāmodara was the son of Harivarman. The suggestion is absolutely without any ground.

CHAPTER IV

THE KEKAYAS

I

ŚIVANANDAVARMAN [1]

According to the *Purāṇas* (*Matsya*, 48, 10-20 ; *Vāyu*, 99, 12-23), the Kekayas, Madras and Uśīnaras were branches of the family of Anu, son of Yayāti. The Anu tribe is frequently mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* (I, 108, 8 ; VII, 10, 5). A hymn of the *Ṛgveda* (VIII, 74) seems to suggest that the Anus lived in the central Punjab, not far from the river Paruṣṇī. It is interesting to note that the same territory is afterwards found to be in the possession of the Kekayas and the Madras (see Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind* , 2nd ed., pp. 36-37 ; Law, *Ancient Indian Tribes*, II, p. 49 f.).

The Kekaya tribe is known from early literature to have dwelt in the modern Punjab between the country of Gandhāra which lay on both sides of the Indus, and the river Vipāśā (Beas). According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (II, 68, 19-22 ; VII, 113-14), the Kekaya territory lay beyond the Vipāśā and was adjacent to the Gandharva (*i.e.*, Gandhāra) viṣaya. The name of the capital of the Kekaya country is not mentioned in the Vedic texts ; the *Rāmāyaṇa* (II, 67, 7 ; 68, 22) however tells us that the capital of the Kekayas was at Rājagṛha or Girivraja. This Rājagṛha-Girivraja has been identified with modern Girjak or Jalalpur on the Jhelum. Another Rājagṛha-Girivraja is known to have been the ancient capital of Magadha. This city has been identified with Rājgir situated in Bihar between Pāṭnā and Gayā. In order to distinguish between the eastern and

[1] My paper on the Southern Kekayas was published in *Ind. Cult.*, IV, p. 516 ff

western Rājagṛha-Girivrajas, the eastern city was sometimes called "Rājagṛha of the Magadhas" (*S.B.E.*, XIII, p. 150). A third Rājagṛha is mentioned by Yuan Chwang (Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, I, p. 44) as a city of Po-lo, *i.e.*, Balkh. Jain writers mention a Kekaya city called Setaviya and say that one-half of the Kekaya kingdom was Aryan (*Ind. Ant.*, 1891, p. 375). See Raychaudhuri, *loc. cit.*

The *Chāndogya Upaniṣat* (V, II, 5) tells a story about Aśvapati, king of Kekaya, who realised the supreme truth and is reported to have once said, "In my *janapada*, there is no thief, no villain, no drunkard, no Brāhmaṇa who does not maintain and consecrate sacred fire in his house, no illiterate person, no adulterer and therefore no adultress." According to the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* (X, 6, 1,2) and *Chāndogya Upaniṣat* (*loc. cit.*, *et seq.*), Aśvapati, a contemporary of king Janaka of Videha, instructed a number of Brāhmaṇas. It is known from the *Rāmāyaṇa* that Daśaratha, the Ikṣvāku king of Ayodhyā, married a Kekaya princess by whom he got a son, named Bharata. It may not be quite impossible that Aśvapati was the name of a family of Kekaya kings and not the name of any particular ruler of Kekaya. A similar instance seems to be found in the name of the ancient Brahmadattas of Kāśī. That Brahmadatta was the name of a family and not that of a particular king has already been proved (Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 56 ; Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46). It is interesting to note that a traditional king (father of the celebrated Sāvitrī) of the Madras who dwelt near the Kekaya country, on the western bank of the river Irāvatī (*Mahābhā.*, VIII, 44, 17), was also named Aśvapati. We do not know whether he actually belonged to the family of the Kekaya kings.

Inscriptions prove the existence of a ruling dynasty called Kekaya or Kaikeya in the Chitaldrug district of Mysore. It has been supposed that the Kekayas migrated

to the south like the Ikṣvākus, Śibis and other north Indian tribes or families. The southern Kekayas are known to have belonged to the Ātreya gotra and the Soma-vaṃśa (lunar race). We have seen that, according to the *Purāṇas*, the Kekayas belonged to the family of Anu, son of the celebrated Yayāti. According to the *Mahābhārata* (I, 95, 7), Yayāti was a king of the lunar race. Yayāti, son of Nahuṣa, is mentioned in early texts like the *Ṛgveda* (I, 31, 17 ; X, 63, 1). The Kekayas who belonged to the family of Yayāti-Nāhuṣya's son, therefore, could rightly claim to have belonged to the Soma-vaṃśa. According to the *Purāṇas* (*e.g.*, *Vāyu*, 26, 18-20), Soma (*i.e.*, moon) was born of Anasūyā by Atri, one of the principal gotrakārins. The *pravaras* of the Ātreya gotra are Atri, Ātreya and Śātātapa. The Kekayas who claimed to have belonged to the family of Anu should properly belong either to the Atri or to the Ātreya gotra.

According to the *Rāmāyaṇic* tradition, the Kekayas of Girivraja were matrimonially connected with the Ikṣvākus of Ayodhyā. It is interesting to note that the family of the southern Kekayas has also been described as *ikṣvākubhir =api rājarṣibhiḥ kṛt-āvāha-vivāha*.[1] This fact goes to show that the princes and princesses of the southern Kekaya family were married in the house of the Ikṣvākus. This Ikṣvāku family however seems to be the same as that to which the great kings Cāṃtamūla I, his son Virapurisadata and grandson Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla II belonged. These kings ruled in the Kistna-Guntur region of the Madras Presidency in the second, third and fourth quarters of the third century and are known to have had matrimonial relations with the kings of Ujjayinī and of Banavāsī. The reference to the Ikṣvāku *rājarṣis* in a Kekaya record of about the middle of the fifth

[1] *Āvāha* means son's marriage, while *vivāha* means the marriage of a daughter. These two terms occur in Rock Edict IX of Aśoka. See *Dīghanikāya*, I, 99; *Jātaka*, I, 452, 2; IV, 316, 8; VI, 71, 32; also Cowell's translation of *Jātaka*, V, p. 145, note 1.

century seems to suggest that the dynasty did not come to an end with the conquest of Andhrāpatha by the Pallavas of Kāñcī about the end of the third century. For the Ikṣvākus, see *above*, p. 9 ff.

Besides the Kekaya record discovered at Anaji in the Davanegere taluka of the Chitaldrug district, there are other inscriptions which prove the existence of the Kekayas in the Mysore region about the middle of the fifth century and possibly also in the eighth. In the Bannahalli grant (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 16) of Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman II, the king's grandfather Viṣṇuvarman, eldest son of Kṛṣṇavarman I, has been described as *kaikeya-sutāyām=utpanna*. As we have seen, Kṛṣṇavarman I who married in the family of the Kekayas possibly ruled about the middle of the fifth century. In another Kadamba record (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, *A. R.*, 1911, pp. 33, 35), Queen Prabhāvatī, wife of Mṛgeśavarma-Dharmamahārāja and mother of Ravivarma-Dharmamahārāja, has been described as *kaikeya-mahākula-prasūtā*. We have seen that Kadamba Mṛgeśavarman possibly began to rule in A. D. 470. The Kekayas are known to have had matrimonial relations not only with the Ikṣvākus and the Kadambas, but also with the Pallavas. A Pallava chief designated Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-Pṛthivīvallabha-Pallavarāja-Gopāladeva who was the son of Caṇḍamahāsena and the lord of Payvegundūpura has been described as *kaikeya-vaṃś-odbhav-oddhata-puruṣa* in the Haldipur plates (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 173 ff.) which have been palaeographically assigned to the eighth century A. D. The passage *kaikeya-vaṃś-odbhava* has been taken to indicate that Pallava Gopāladeva was connected with the Kekaya or Kaikeya family probably on his mother's side.

The Anaji stone inscription (*Ep. Carn.*, XI, p. 142) belongs to a Kekaya chief, named Śivanandavarman, who is described as belonging to the Kekaya family, Soma race and Ātreya gotra. He was a *parama-māheśvara* and was devoted to his parents, and his family was connected

matrimonially with the saintly kings of the Ikṣvāku family. The record refers to the loss of Śivanandavarman's own country and to a tumultuous battle fought between Naṇakkāsa (?) Pallavarāja and Kṛṣṇavarmarāja, and says that after the defeat of Kṛṣṇarāja's army, the Kekaya chief, with a sense of relief in his heart, made up his mind, lay on a bed of *darbha* grass and being unwilling to enjoy worldly pleasures became desirous of going to heaven.[1] Śivanandavarman is then said to have approached that position which is desired by all valiant men, and thereby spread the prosperity of his own family to last as long as the moon and the stars endure.[2] Even after going near that position, he performed some meritorious deeds with the idea that a man dwells in heaven so long as his glory is remembered on the earth.[3] The stone appears to have been engraved after the death of Śivanandavarman.

The inscription has been differently interpreted. Some scholars think (see Sewell, *List*, p. 352) that Śivanandavarman was a son of Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman I and that he turned an ascetic. The first part of the theory is impossible in view of the fact that Śivanandavarman has been described as belonging not to the Kadamba family of the Mānavya or Āṅgirasa gotra, but to the Kekaya family which belonged to the Soma vaṃśa and the Ātreya gotra. The second part of the theory is also rendered

1 *Śivanandavarmā sva-deśasya kṣaye naṇakkāsa* (?) *pallavarāja-kṛṣṇavarmmarājayoḥ samare tumulini* (?) *pravṛtte kṛṣṇarāja-sainye bhagne praśamita-hṛdaya saṅkalpita-saṅkalpaḥ kṛta darbha-śayanaḥ pavitraṃ abhyavahārayamāṇaḥ cira-kāl-āvasthāyinīṃ kīrttiṃ abhilaṣan śruti smṛti-vihita-śīla-guṇi-gananaḥ* (?) *manuṣya-bhoga-virakta-manās=svarg-āvāpti-kṛt-ekṣaṇaḥ indraloka-sukhaṃ akāmayata.* In place of the passage *kṣaye naṇakkāsa*, Govind Pai is inclined to read *kṣayena niṣkāsitaḥ*. If this suggestion is accepted, the name of the Pallava antagonist of Kṛṣṇavarman I is not yet known.

2 *Ācaṃdra-tārakaṃ ātmano vaṃśasya parama-śivaṃ vitanvan vīrya śaurya-vikrama-pratāpair=vaśāḥ śaurya-karma-paramparā ślāghā-viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣitaḥ śūra-gaṇānāṃ abhimataṃ abhigataḥ.*

3 *Abhigamy=āpi sva-vaṃśa-sthāpaka-jana-puṇya-karmaṇā yukto Yāvad=yaśo-loke vicarati tāvantaṃ kālaṃ puruṣaḥ divi nivasati pramudita-hṛdaya iti.*

untenable by the fact that he is said to have attained the position which is desired by all valiant warriors, to have prepared a bed of *darbha* and to have become desirous of going to heaven. It seems to me that Śivanandavarman became seriously wounded in the battle fought between the Pallava king and king Kṛṣṇavarman and, apprehending death, lay on a bed of *darbha*. It may be noticed that the words *avahāra* and *avaharaṇa* (*cf.* the verb in *abhyavahārayamāṇa*) signify " cessation of fight " or " removing from the battle-field to the camp." The desire of Śivanandavarman to go to heaven and to attain eternal fame may suggest that he burnt himself to death.

It has been suggested by previous writers that Śivanandavarman's heart was broken at the defeat of Kṛṣṇarāja's army. The passage *praśamita-hṛdaya* however seems to suggest that the Kekaya chief's mind was relieved of anxiety at the disastrous defeat of Kṛṣṇarāja who has been identified with the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarman I. This fact appears to prove that, in the battle referred to, Śivanandavarman fought against Kṛṣṇavarman I. We have seen that though Viṣṇuvarman I, born of the Kekaya princess, was the eldest son of Kṛṣṇavarman I, his claim to the throne was laid aside and one of his younger brothers, named Devavarman, who was the favourite son of his father, was made Yuvarāja, *i.e.*, heir to the throne. The fact that Viṣṇuvarman was installed by a Pallava king possibly suggests that he left his father's court and removed to the court of a Pallava king. It is interesting to note that the battle referred to in the Anaji record was fought between Kṛṣṇavarman I and the Pallavas. It is possible that Śivananda, the Kekaya relative (maternal grandfather or uncle ?) of Viṣṇuvarman, fought in the battle for the Pallava allies of Viṣṇuvarman and against Kṛṣṇavarman I. Otherwise Śivananda being *praśamita-hṛdaya* at the defeat of Kṛṣṇarāja's army seems to become meaningless.

APPENDIX

I

Yavana and Pārasīka [1]

In an interesting paper on the question of Zoroastrian influence on early Buddhism in *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume* (Bombay, 1930), Dr. E. J. Thomas has offered some suggestions regarding the interpretation of the term *Yavana* in Indian inscriptions and literature. It is generally believed that *Yavana* originally signified the Greeks, but later it was used to mean all foreigners. Dr. Thomas however thinks it to be "an unnecessary assumption that the term must have first meant 'Greek' to the Indians" (p. 282) and takes it to be unlikely "that Indians could have distinguished the Yavanas from the Persians as specially Greek." "It is more probable," he says, "that they learnt the name from the Yavana forces with whom they came in contact, and that they applied the name to all foreigners whose military power was represented by these Yavanas, that is, to the Persians generally" (pp. 282-83). As a sequel to these views of his, Dr. Thomas has been constrained to think that Aṃtiyoka (=Antiokhus II Theos of Syria) has been called *Yona-rāja* (*i.e.*, Yavana king) in the second and thirteenth Rock Edicts of Aśoka, because he was "the chief ruler of what remained of the ancient Persian empire" (p. 282). Dr. Thomas thus seems to think that the word *Yavana*, from the earliest times, meant "foreigner," and not "Greek" specially, and that the Indians never distinguished the

[1] This paper was originally published in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIV, pp. 34-38.

Yavanas from the Persians. There is however evidence to show that neither of these two suggestions is justifiable.[1]

As regards the first point, we must note that the Persian or any other foreign tribe is *never* known to have been called *Yavana* in the early literature and records of India.[2] It is, on the other hand, definitely known from a number of instances that the term *Yavana* denoted the Greeks. Aṃtiyoka's being called *Yona-rāja* may be explained away, as he was "the chief ruler of what remained of the ancient Persian empire." But that *Yavana* meant "Greek" is perfectly established by the evidence furnished by the *Mahāvaṃsa*, *Milindapañho* and the Besnagar pillar inscription of Heliodorus.

Some *gāthās* of the *Mahāvaṃsa* (XXIX, verse 30 ff.) give a list of countries and cities among which we get Yonanagara-Alasanda (*i.e.*, Alexandria, the city of the Yavanas). Alasanda has been identified with Alexandria, founded by Alexander the Great near Kabul (*op. cit.*, Geiger's ed., p. 194). Alasanda=Alexandria can hardly be a Persian town. According to the *Milindapañho*, Milinda who has been identified with the celebrated Indo-Greek king Menander was born at Kalasigāma in the *dipa* [3] of Alasanda.

[1] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar holds (*Ind. Cult.* I, pp. 16-17, 519 ff.) that "in early times Yavana always denoted the Greeks, but from the second century A.D. onwards, it seems to have been used to denote the Persians." As we shall see, this theory is equally untenable. For the evidence of the *Raghuvaṃśa* and the Junagadh inscription, see below. The reference to the Yavanas in the seventh century work *Harṣa-carita* in connection with Kākavarṇa, son of Śiśunāga, proves nothing.

[2] It may be argued that since Tuṣāspa, who was Aśoka's governor in Surāṣṭra, had a Persian name, but has been called *Yavana-rāja* in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman (*circa* A.D 130-50), the word Yavana in this case means a Persian. Names however can hardly be taken as proof of nationality. *Vāsudeva*, the name assumed by a great Kuṣāṇa king about the end of the second century A.D., is an Indian name, but the Kuṣāṇa king's family was not certainly indigenous to India. Many early Indian inscriptions, moreover, mention Yavanas bearing Hindu names, *e.g.*, *Yavana Caṃda* (=Candra) in Lüders, *List*, No. 1156.

[3] Alasanda thus seems not to have been merely a city. *Dipa* (*cf.* *Dwāb*) appears to mean a district between two rivers.

This Milinda = Menander is said to have had his capital at Sāgala, modern Sialkot in the Punjab (I, 9: *jambudipe sāgalanagare milindo nāma rājā ahosi*). Again in another passage, this Sāgalanagara is said to have belonged to the Yavanas (I, 2: *atthi Yonakānāṃ nānāputabhedanaṃ sāgalan = nāma nagaraṃ*). Next we should note that the Besnagar pillar inscription mentions a *Yona-dūta* (*i.e.*, Yavana envoy), named Heliodora (= Heliodorus), son of Diya (= Dion), who was an inhabitant of Takhasilā (= Takṣaśilā, modern Taxila) and was sent by Mahārāja Aṃtalikita (= Antialkidas) to the court of the Śuṅga king Kautsīputra (probably *Kosīputa*, not *Kāsīputa*) Bhāgabhadra (Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 157) who ruled about the middle of the second century B.C. (Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, 4th ed., p. 238, note). The Greek names of the *Yona-dūta* and his father as well as of the king who sent him leave no doubt that the word *Yona* (= *Yavana*) was used to mean the Greeks. Aṃtalikita of the inscription is evidently the Indo-Greek king, named Antialkidas, whose coins with both Greek and Indian legends, have been discovered in the Punjab (Smith, *Catalogue*, pp. 15-16). The possible reference to *Yavanarāja Dimita* and his identification with Demetrius may also be noticed (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 84, n. 31).

There is moreover evidence to show that the term *Yavana* was borrowed by the Indians directly from their Persian neighbours. The Persians became acquainted with the Greeks chiefly through the Ionian colonists whom they called *Yauna* (= Ionian). This term occurs in the inscriptions of Darius in a wider sense to signify the Greeks or people of Greek origin generally. The Persian word *Yauna* was borrowed by the Indians. The *Mahābhārata* (XII, 207, 43), for example, has:

Uttarāpatha-janmānaḥ kīrtayisyāmi tān = api,
Yauna-kāṃboja-gandhārāḥ kirātā barbaraiḥ saha.

Yavana is only a Sanskritised form of *Yauna* of which the real Prakrit form is *Yona*. If the Indians learnt the use of the word from the Persians, it is hardly reasonable to suppose that they used it in an entirely different sense. It is possible that from the time of the Persian occupation of North-Western India (*i.e.*, from the sixth century B.C.) and probably from still earlier times [1] the people of that part of India had commercial relation [2] with Persia. It may therefore be suggested that Indian merchants who visited the bazaars of Persia for purposes of merchandise came into contact with Greek merchants and called them Yauna in imitation of the people of that country.

As regards the second supposition of Dr. Thomas, it may be said that, in early Indian literature and records, the Yavanas are not only distinguished from other foreign tribes, but are mentioned side by side also with the Pārasīkas, *i.e.*, the Persians. The Nasik inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi's nineteenth year mentions the Yavanas along with the Śakas and the Palhavas who are said to have been routed by the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (*circa* 107-31 A.D.). The *Rāmāyaṇa* (I, 54, 21) distinguishes the Yavanas from other foreign tribes in passages like *śakān=yavana-miśritān* (*i. e.*, Śakas who had the Yavanas with them). In the *Purāṇas* (*e. g.*, *Vāyu*, 46, 105-21, see also 88, 122), the following foreign

[1] Arrian says (Chinnock's ed., p. 399) that "the district west of the river Indus as far as the river Cophen is inhabited by the Astacenians and the Assacenians, Indian tribes. These were in ancient times subject to the Assyrians, afterwards to the Medes, and finally they submitted to the Persians and paid tribute to Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, as ruler of their land." Scholars like Ludwig, Hillebrandt and Weber think that the Persians were known to the Indians as *Parśava* as early as the time of the *Ṛgveda*. See Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 504-05 (*parśu*) and pp. 521-22 (*pārthava*); see also *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 322 and notes.

[2] There seems to have been political relations as well. Indian soldiers in the Persian army are known to have fought on Greek soil, while the Greeks too fought for the Persians in India (Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, 4th ed., p. 40).

tribes are said to have belonged to the Udīcya country: (1) Yavana, (2) Śaka, (3) Darada, (4) Tuṣāra and (5) Palhava. According to the *Mahābhārata* (V, 19), the Kāṁboja king Sudakṣiṇa marshalled Yavana and Śaka forces at the great battle of Kurukṣetra. In works like the *Mahābhārata* (VI, 9), moreover, the Yavanas (Greeks) and the Pārasīkas (Persians) are *separately* mentioned as peoples living in the Udīcya-deśa. *Cf.*

yavanāś = cīna-kāṃbojā daruṇā mleccha-jātayaḥ,
sakṛdgrahāḥ kulatthāś = ca hunāḥ pārasikaiḥ saha.

Rapson says (*Ancient India*, p. 86) that the word *Yavana* denoted the Greeks "in the Indian literature and inscriptions of the last three centuries before and the first two centuries after the Christian era." The latest extremity however must be pushed at least up to the age of Kālidāsa who is generally supposed to have lived in the 4th century A.D. and to that of Viśākhadatta who lived still later. It is generally believed that, while describing Raghu's victorious campaign in the western countries, Kālidāsa identifies the Yavanas with the Pārasīkas. This belief is based on a wrong interpretation of verses 60-64 of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa*, Canto IV, where, as a matter of fact, the poet clearly distinguishes the country of the Pārasīkas from that of the Yavanas. In verse 60, Raghu is said to have started from the Aparānta (Northern Koṅkaṇ) and to have gone by the *sthala-vartma* (land-route) to conquer the Pārasīkas. The king had a strong navy [1] and could have easily sailed from the Aparānta coast to the Persian shore. Why, then, did he go by the land-route ? The answer is to be found in the next verse wherein we are told that Raghu was jealous, as it were, of the merry-making of the Yavana girls. The host of Raghu's army is here very happily

[1] *Cf.* verse 36, which describes Raghu's fight with the Vaṅgas.

compared with *a-kāla-jalad-odaya.* Verse 61 thus clearly suggests that in going to Persia from the Northern Koṅkaṇ, Raghu had to cross the country of the Yavanas with whom he had no mind to fight.[1] Just as clouds temporarily prevent the lotuses from enjoying the sun, Raghu with his large army passed through the Yavana country frightening the Yavana girls and causing temporary cessation of their merry-making.[2] The case of the Yavana girls may be compared with that of the Kerala women who were running this way and that way in extreme fright when, starting from the Pāṇḍya country, Raghu was marching through Kerala with a view to conquering the Aparānta.

In the passage *asti tāvac=chaka-yavana-kirāta-kāmboja-pārasika-bāhlika-prabhṛtiḥ* of the *Mudrārākṣasa,* Act II, Viśākhadatta also distinguishes the Yavanas from the Pārasīkas.[3]

[1] *Cf.* verses 38 and 54, which describe Raghu's march through Utkala and Kerala without fighting with the inhabitants of those countries. It may be supposed that these countries were ruled not by independent kings but by feudatory rulers.

[2] I am indebted for the suggestion to Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri. Raghu did not fight with the Yavanas, but was going through their ountry to fight with the Pārasīkas who lived further west (*cf. pāścātyaiḥ* in verse 62). But the very appearance of his large army in the Yavana country was sufficient to cause terror in the hearts of the inhabitants. The poet says that Raghu could have avoided this, but as he wanted jealously, as it were, to put a stop to the merry-making of the Yavanīs, he purposely preferred the land-route. In interpreting verses 59-65 of the *Raghuvaṃśa,* IV, V. Venkayya also separated the Yavanas from the Pārasīkas. For his interpretation, see *Arch. Surv. Ind.,* A. R., 1906-07, p. 218, note 1. See also Bühler, *Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry* (p. 40) in *Ind. Ant.,* 1913.

[3] I am indebted for this reference to Prof. Raychaudhuri. In the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (XIV, 17-18), Varāhamihira mentions the Pāraśavas along with the Śūdras, Yavanas, Ambaṣṭhas, Kambojas and Sindhusauvīras. It is not impossible that Pāraśava here signifies the Persians. Vākpati (8th century A.D.), author of *Gaüḍa-vaho,* mentions the Pārasīkas in the list of peoples conquered by his master and hero, Yaśovarman of Kanauj (Bühler, *loc. cit.*).

Evidence thus shows that the Yavanas were generally distinguished from the Persians and other foreign tribes by the Indians in ancient times even as late as the sixth century A.D. and that therefore the Persians and Yavanas were not identical.

———

II

ALLURU INSCRIPTION

In the year 1924, Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao discovered at Alluru (Nandigrama taluka of the Kistna district), five miles from Yerrupalem, on the Bezwada-Hyderabad Railway line, an old Brāhmī inscription and the remains of an old Buddhist *stūpa*, at about two furlongs to the west of the village. A facsimile of the inscription (No. 331 of 1924), along with a short note on it, was published in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year ending 31st March, 1924. The inscription was afterwards edited by Dr. R. Shamasastry in the *Calcutta Review* for July, 1925. According to the transcript published in the *Review* the epigraph refers to *jayadharma* (line 2), and *cāradharma* (line 5), and to Sana, king of the Ayis (lines 16-17), who is supposed to have been the grantor of some gifts. The *Report* rightly says that the inscription may be palæographically assigned to the 2nd century A.D. If, then, Dr. Shamasastry's reading and interpretation be correct, a king called Sana ruled over some parts, at least, of the Kistna district about that period, *i.e.*, some time before the age of Jayavarman Bṛhatphalāyana.

It will, however, be seen from the facsimile that the transcript published in the *Calcutta Review* is faulty in many places, and that the words read as *jayadhama* and *cāradhama* there, are clearly *deyadhama* (pious gift) and *cā-ra-ṭhe-ma* respectively. Here, however, we shall only examine the passage where the name of the king has been read.

The Alluru inscription is very important from the palæographical point of view. Though it is a fragment, all the letters that have been preserved are perfectly legible; and an interesting point is that in lines 7 and 13 we have a peculiar form—[ ]. This figure has been taken

Kan.. be *sa* in both the *Report* and the *Review*.

According to the *Report*, the inscription records the gift of " a certain Mahātalavara accompanied by his wife, son and daughter-in-law." Evidently the *Report* reads in line 16 : *sabhāriyasa saputakasa sanasakasa* and finds in the last word a Prakrit corruption of the Sanskrit word *snuṣā* (daughter-in-law). [1] In the transcript of the *Calcutta Review*, the last word of the passage has been read as *śanasa kaṭa* (made by Sana). The letter after *ka* is certainly *sa* ; but the letter after *sana* is that interesting figure we have referred to above.

I have no doubt that the letter which has been read as *sa*, is anything but that. The letter *sa* occurs many times in the inscription and in all cases the right side of the letter is prolonged upward to about the same height as that of the left side—[ ]. It is clear that this form of *sa*, with the right side considerably raised upward, has been purposely used by the scribe to avoid a confusion between this letter and the *sa*-like form already referred to which occurs twice in the inscription. There can hardly be any doubt that the *sa*-like form is to be read as *tu*. It is certainly the original form from which the forms (= *tu*), (=*tu*), etc., of later inscriptions were developed. I, therefore, read line 16 of the Alluru inscription as *eta sabhāriyasa saputakasa sanatukasa*. In the last word, then we get *naptṛ* (grandson) and not *snuṣā* (daughter-in-law), and the word really means " accompanied by (his) grandson " and not " accompanied by his daughter-in-law." From what has been said, it is clear that there is not the slightest reference to any person named *Sana* in line 16 of the Alluru inscription. [2] As regards the passage *ayirāṇa* (line 17), interpreted as " the

[1] In such a case, however, the passage is required to have been *sa-sanasaka*, like *sa-putaka* and *sa-bhāriya*.

[2] It must be noted that in the line 7, where also this form of *tu* occurs, the word has been read in the *Calcutta Review* as *casavisa* and has been translated as " twenty-six." I do not know how the word *caṣaviṣa* means twenty-six. The word is certainly *catuvisa*, that is, twenty-four.

king of the Ayis," it may be left out without any serious consideration. The line (line 17) *ayirāṇa pūvaseliyāna nigāyasa* should certainly be *āryāṇāṃ pūrvaśailīyānāṃ nikāyasya* in Sanskrit. *Cf. ayirahaṁgha*=Sanskrit *ārya-saṃgha* in the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions.

Though it does not mention the name of any king, the Alluru inscription is important to the student of the history of South Indian Buddhism. It records the gift of lands and some other things to the *nikāya* of the *pūrvaśailīya āryas*. *Pūrvaśaila* or *Pūrvaśilā* has been mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang as Fu-p'o-shih-lo (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, 214), and in the inscription F. of Nagarjunikonda as *Puvasela* (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 22). The grantor of the gifts is a certain Mahātalavara which word, as we have already seen, occurs several times in the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions and probably means "a governor." The gifts appear to be in the shape of some *nivartanas* [1] of land, cows (*gavi*), bullocks and carts (*balivadha-sakaṭa*), men-servants and women-servants (*dāsi-dāsa*), lamps (*divikāyo*),[2] pans (*kubhi-kaṭāha*), iron-vessels (*lohiyo*= Sanskrit *lohikā*), vessels made of bell-metal (*kasasa bhāyana*), etc., etc. There are also references to the dedication of a *taḷāka* (pond), of *kārṣāpaṇas* and of an *akṣaya-nīvi* (permanent endowment) of a thousand *purāṇas* (*puraṇa-sahasa*).

[1] According to Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, II, 20, one *nivartana* appears to have been 240 × 240 square cubits (2·975 acres). According to a commentator of the *Arthaśāstra*, however, it was 120 × 120 square cubits (·743 acre) only. Whereas the *daṇḍa* (rod) is equal to 8 cubits according to Kauṭilya, it is equal only to 4 cubits according to the commentator. It may be conjectured that the measuring rod was 8 cubits long in some parts of ancient India, while in other parts it was only 4 cubits long. Measuring rods are not uniform in all the provinces or districts of India even at the present day. Note also that a Bombay *bighā* (3925 sq. yds.) is equal to about 2½ Bengal *bighās* (1 Bengal *bighā* = 1600 sq. yds.) at the present time. The longer rod may also have been used for special measurements (see *above*, p. 186 n.).

For *daṇḍa*=6 ft. (4 cubits), see Fleet's note at p. 541 of the English translation of the *Arthaśāstra* (1st ed.), by Shamasastry.

[2] The passage is *vadālābhikārokaṁodiyo ya*[*na*]*ka-divikāyo*. Some time ago, Mr. K. N. Dikshit informed me that it has been explained as "lamps of the shape of the mouth of a *vadāla* fish, manufactured by the Yavanas."

III

PEDDAVEGI GRANT OF NANDIVARMAN II

The Peddavegi plates appear to be in an excellent state of preservation. All the characters are perfectly legible.

These plates were edited in *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, I, p. 92 ff. My reading is based on the excellent plates published there.

Text

1st Plate : 2nd Side

L. 1. Śvasti [||*] Vijaya-Veṅgīpurān=naika-[1] samar-āvāpta-vijayino[2]

L. 2. I. Hastivarmma-mahārājasya prapautraḥ[3] vividha-dharmma-

L. 3. pradhānasya Nandivarmma-mahārājasya pautraḥ

2nd Plate : 1st Side

L. 4. pratāp-opanata-sāmantasyā[4] Caṇḍavarmma-mahāraja[5]-

L. 5. II. sya putro jyeṣṭhaḥ[6] bhagavac-Citrarathasvāmi-

L. 6. pād-ānudhyāto bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktaḥ

2nd Plate : 2nd Side

L. 7. parama-bhāgavataś=Śālaṅkāyano Maharāja-[7] grī[8] -Nandi-

[1] Read °d=aneka.
[2] Read vijayasya.
[3] Read °tro.
[4] Read °sya.
[5] Read °rāja.
[6] Read °ṣṭho.
[7] Read Mahā°.
[8] Read śrī.

L. 8. varmmā Prālura-grāme Mutuḍa-sahitān=gra-meya-
L. 9. kān=samajñāpayati[1] [||*] Asti[2] asmad-dharmma-yaśo-'bhi-

3rd Plate : 1st Side

L. 10. vṛddhy-arthan=triloka-nāthasya Viṣṇugṛhasvāmina[ḥ] Aru-[3]
L. 11. III. toṛe vraja-pālakānāṃ kraṣṭuṃ devahalaṅ=kṛtvā[4]
L. 12. asmābhir=bhūmi-nivarttanāni daśa X tath=aiva

3rd Plate : 2nd Side

L. 13. Muṇḍūra-grāme bhūmi-nivarttanāni daśa X Ceñceru-
L. 14. va-grāme bhumi-nivarttanāni ṣaṭ VI tath=ai-
L. 15. va Kamburāñceruve bhūmi-nivarttanāni ṣaṭ VI

4th Plate : 1st Side

L. 16. dettāni[5] [||*] Tad=avagamya deśādhipaty-āyuktaka-valla-
L. 17. IV. bha-rājapuruṣ-ādibhi*h*=pariharttavyāni ||
L. 18. Pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṃvatsarasya da--śa-

4th Plate : 2nd Side

L. 19. masya X Śrāvaṇa-māsa-śukla-pakṣasya Pratipa-
L. 20. di paṭṭikā dattā [||*] Ājñāptir[6]=Mulakūra-bhojaka[ḥ||*]
L. 21. Likhitaṃ rahasyādhikṛtena Kāṭikūriṇā [||*]

1 Read *samā°*.
2 *Asti* is superfluous.
3 Read *°no='ru°*.
4 Read *kṛtv=āsmā°*.
5 Read *dattāni*.
6 Read *Ājñaptir=*.

5th Plate : 1st Side

L. 22. Bahubhirv = vasudhā dattā bahubhiś = c = ānupālitā [।*]

L. 23. V. Yasya yasya yada bhūmi [1] tasya tasya tadā phalaṃ [2] [॥*]

L. 24. Ṣaṣṭi-varṣa-sahasrāṇi svarge krīḍati bhūmidaḥ [।*]

5th Plate : 2nd Side

L. 25. Ākṣeptā c = ābhimantā ca tāny = eva narake vased = itiḥ [3] [॥]

[1] Read *bhūmis* =. [2] Read *phalam*. [3] Read *iti*.

IV

POLAMURU GRANT OF MĀDHAVAVARMAN I

The Polamuru grant of Mādhavavarman I was edited by R. Subba Rao in *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VI, p. 17 f. But his reading does not seem to me quite accurate in all places. Mr. Subba Rao, moreover, did not notice the numerous mistakes in the composition of the record. His translation is also not satisfactory. The passage *viṣṇukoṇḍinām = appratihata-śāsana* has been translated as "whose edicts pass unchallenged with the name of Vishṇukuṇḍi," *daśaśata-sakala-dharaṇītala-narapatir = avasita-vividha-divya* as "who subdued the kings of the whole earth of ten hundred villages," *parama-brahmaṇya* as "who is the best Brāhmaṇ," *taittirīyaka-sabrahmachārī* as "who is the true Brahmachārī of the Taittirika branch," etc., etc. It may also be pointed out that Ll. 29-34 have been translated as "The executors of this grant are Hastikośa and Vīrakośa who are great warriors and whose duty it is to protect the grant." I fail to find any connection between Ll. 29-34 and Mr. Subba Rao's translation.

My reading is based on the facsimile published along with Mr. Subba Rao's paper in *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VI.

Text

1st Plate : 2nd Side

L. 1. Svasti [||*] Bhagavat[1]-śrīparvataśvāmi-pād-ānudhyātasya Viṣṇuko[ṇḍinā]m = appra-

[1] Read *Bhagavac-Chrī°*.

L. 2. tihata-śāsanasya sva-pratāp-opanata-sāmanta-manujapati-maṇḍala[sya]

L. 3. I. virahita-ripu-ṣaḍ-vargasya vīdh [1]-īṃdu-pavitra-trivargasya vibudha-pati-sā[ddhya?]-

L. 4. śara-vira[2]-vibhava-bala-parākramasyā [3] śrī-Vikramahendrasya sūno[4] aneka-

L. 5. samara-[saṃ]ghaṭṭa-vijayina[ḥ]para-narapati-ma[ku]ṭa-maṇi-mayukh [5]-āvadāta-ca-

L. 6. [ra*] ṇa-yugaḷasya Vikramāśrayasya śrī-Govinda-varmaṇaḥ priya-tanayaḥ [6] atula-

L. 7. [ba*]la-parā[kra]ma-yaśo-dāna-vinaya-sapa [7]-[nno] daśaśata-sakala-dharaṇītala-nara-

2nd Plate : 1st Side

L. 8. patir = avasi[ta-vi]vidha-divyas = Trivaraṇa-gara-bhavana-gata-yuvati [8]-jana-vi-

L. 9. haraṇa-ratir = annanya [9]-nṛpati-sādhāraṇa-dāna-māna-dayā-dama [10]-dhṛti-

L. 10. mati-kṣānti-kānti-śauriy [11]-audāryya-gābhiryya [12]-prabhṛty-aneka-guṇa-saṃpa-

L. 11. j-janita-raya-samutthita-bhūmaṇḍala-vyāpi-vipula-yaśoḥ [13] kratu-sa-

1 Read *vidh-īṃdu°*.

2 Read *sādhya* and *vīra*. *Ddhya* is not clear and the idea seems to be awkwardly expressed.

3 Read *°sya*.

4 Read *°nor = ane°*.

5 Read *°yū°*.

6 Read *°yo = °tula°*.

7 Read *saṃpanno*.

8 Subba Rao reads *yuvatī*.

9 Read *°r = ananya*.

10 Subba Rao reads *dharma*.

11 Read *śaury*.

12 Read *gāṃbhīrya*.

13 Read *°yaśāḥ*.

L. 12. hasra-yājī Hiraṇyagarbha-prasūtaḥ[1] ekādaś-Āśva-medh-āvabhṛtha-snāna-vi-

L. 13. gata-jagad-enaskaḥ sarva-bhūta-parirakṣaṇa-cu-ñcuḥ[2] vidva-dvija[3]-guru-vri[4]-

L. 14. ddha-tapasvi-jan-āśrayo mahārājaḥ śrī-Mādhava-varmā [||*] Api ca niyam[5]=au-

2nd Plate : 2nd Side

L. 15. śanasaṃ sattvaṃ kaiśavaṃ kā[nti]m=ainda-vīṃ[6] udvahann=urubhā[ḥ] bhāti vikram-āda[7]-

L. 16. pta-bhūri-bhūḥ[8] apy=asau[9] mahītala-nṛpati-bhā-skaraḥ [||*] Parama-brahmaṇyo

L. 17. mātā-pitru[10]-pād-ānudyātaḥ[11] Janāśraya-mahārā-jaḥ[12] Guddāvadi[13]-viṣa-

L. 18. II. yye[14] viṣaya-mahāttarān[15]=adhikāra-puruṣāṃś=ca[16] imam=arttham=ā[jñā]pa-

L. 19. yaty=asti[17] vidi[ta]m=astu vo yath=āsmā-bhi[ḥ][18] Guddavādi-vi[ṣa]ye Da[ḷi]ya-

1 Omit *visarga*.

2 Subba Rao reads *cuṇcuḥ*.

3 Read °*r=vidvad-dvi*°.

4 Read *vṛ*.

5 Read *nayam=*.

6 Read °*vīm=ud*°.

7 Read *urubhār=bhāti vikram-āvāpta*.

8 Read °*bhūr=apy=asau*.

9 Subba Rao reads *asyasau*.

10 Read *pitṛ*.

11 Read °*dhyāto*.

12 Read °*rājo*.

13 Read *Guddavādi*. *An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1914, p. 10, reads Guddavāṭi.

14 Read *viṣaye*.

15 Read *mahatta*-°.

16 Subba Rao reads °*ṣaṃśca*. Read °*ś=c=ema*°.

17 *Asti* is superfluous.

18 Read °*bhir=Gudda*°. See *above*, note 13.

L. 20. vāvi-tīre Pulo[bū]ru-nāma-grāmaḥ [1] Mayinda-vāṭaki-dakṣinata-sī-

L. 21. mānte catu [2]-nivarttanañ = ca kṣetraṃ yugapat pra[ttaṃ] prāg-di-jigīṣayā prasthi-

3rd Plate : 1st Side

L. 22. taḥ Godāva[rī]m = atitaran [3] veda-vedāṃga-vido Rudraśā[rmma]ṇo naptre [4] sva-pitu-

L. 23. r = adhika-guṇ-ādhyasi-tanoḥ [5] Dāmaśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Śivaśarmmaṇe Gauta-

L. 24. ma-sagotrāya Karmmarāṣṭra-Kuṇḷūra-vāstavyā-ya Taittirika [6]-sabra[hma]cāriṇe

L. 25. veda-catuṣṭaya-samāmnāt-āvadāt-ānanāya sva-kar-mm-anu [7]-

L. 26. ṣṭhāna-parāya phālgunyāṃ [8] paurṇamasyā [9] soma-rāhu-sagraha-nimi[tte]

L. 27. Janāśraya-datyā [10]- sarva-kara-parihāreṇ = āgrahā-ri [11] [kṛ] tyā [12] saṃprattaḥ [||*] Ta-

L. 28. thā bhavadbhir = anyaiś = ca dharm-adhiśata [13] buddhibhiḥ pari[pā]lanīya [14] [||*] Na kai-

[1] The third letter in the name of the village is not clear. *An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1914, p. 10, reads the name as *Pulimbūru*. In the grant of Jayasiṃha I, the name is *Pulobūṃra*. Read *°grāmo = Mayi°*.

[2] Read *dakṣiṇa-sīmānte catur-niva°*.

[3] Read *prāg-dig-jigīṣayā, prasthitaiḥ* and *taradbhiḥ*. Subba Rao reads *taram*.

[4] Subba Rao reads *napptre*.

[5] Read *°dhyāsita-tanor = Dāma°*.

[6] Read *Taittirīyaka*.

[7] Read *karmm-ānu°*.

[8] Subba Rao reads *phālguṇya*.

[9] Read *paurṇamāsyāṃ*.

[10] Read *°dattyā*. Subba Rao reads *dattyāṃ*.

[11] Read *°hārī°*.

[12] Read *°kṛtya*.

[13] Read *°śayitā°*.

[14] Read *pālanīyaḥ*.

3rd Plate : 2nd Side

L. 29. ś=cid=vādhā karaṇīyā [||*] Ājñaptir=itra [1] Hastikośa-Vīrakośau [||*] Mahā-

L. 30. III. mātra-yodhayos=teṣāṃ [2] śreyaḥ kīrtir=idaṃ [3] mahat [4] [|*] Ye-

L. 31. na [5] lobhena lumpanti śvapākās=teṣu [6] jāyate [7] [||*] A[nyā]ya-

L. 32. samakāle tu sthātavyaṃ śaktitaḥ purā [|*] Upekṣati

L. 33. punary=yatra [8] nara[ke] sa [ni]majjati [||*] Ity=evam=ubhaya-

L. 34. gaṇau sthikṛtyā [9] paripālayet [||*] Atra Vyāsa-gītā [10] [ślokāḥ].

4th Plate : 1st Side

L. 35. [Ba]hubhir=va[su]dhā dattā bahubhiś=c=ānupā[li]-

L. 36. tā[|*] Yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṃ [11] [||*] Sva-da-

L. 37. ttā [12] para-dattām=va [13] yo hareti [14] vasun-dharāṃ [15] [|*] Ṣaṣṭhi-va[ri]sa [16]- sahasrā-

1 Read *°tir=atra.*
2 Read *°s=tayoḥ.*
3 Read *iyaṃ.*
4 Read *mahatī.*
5 Read *ca.*
6 Read *tu.*
7 Read *jāyante*, though it does not suit the line, which seems to be in the *anuṣṭubh* metre.
8 Read *yo='tra.*
9 Read *svīkṛtya.* But the meaning of the passage is not clear.
10 Read *Vyāsa-gītāḥ.*
11 Read *phalam.*
12 Read *sva-dattāṁ.*
13 Read *°dattāṃ vā.*
14 Read *hareta.*
15 Read *°rām.*
16 Read *ṣaṣṭi-varṣa.*

L. 38. ṇi viṣṭhāyāñ=jāyate kṛmi[ḥ ||]* Ṣaṣṭhi[1] varṣa-sahasrāṇi

L. 39. svrage modati bhūmidaḥ [| *] Ākṣettā[2] c=ānumanta ca tāny=eva naka[3] va-

L. 40. se[t] [||*] Na viṣa[4] viṣam=ity=āhuḥ[5] brahmasvaṃ viṣam=ucyate [|*] Viṣam=e-

L. 41. kāki[naṃ] ha[nti] brahma-svaṃ pu[tra]-pautrikaṃ[6] [||*] Vijaya-rājya-saṃvat-sare[40][7]

1 See note 16 at p. 338.

2 Read *ākṣeptā*.

3 Read *narake*.

4 Read *viṣaṃ*.

5 Read °*hur=bra*°.

6 Read °*kam*.

7 The upper part of the symbol looks like 40, and the lower part like 8 See *above*, p. 104, note.

V

Polamuru Grant of Jayasimha I

These Plates have been edited in *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, IV, p. 72 ff. and in *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 254 ff. My transcript is prepared from the facsimile published in the former.

Text

L. 1. Svasti [||*] Śrī-vijaya-skandhāvārāt[1] mātṛ-gaṇa-parirakṣitānāṃ Mānavya-sagotrāṇāṃ

L. 2. I. Hāritī-putrāṇāṃ[2] Aśvamedha-yājināṃ Calukyānāṃ kula-jala nidhi-

L. 3. samutpanna-rāja-ratnasya sakala-bhuvana-maṇḍala-maṇḍita-kīrttiḥ[3] śrī-

L. 4. Kīrttivarmmaṇaḥ pautraḥ[4] aneka-samara-saṃghaṭṭa vijayina[ḥ] para-nara-

L. 5. pati-makuṭa-maṇi-mayūkh-āvadāta-caraṇa-yugalasya śrī-Viṣṇuvardhana-

L. 6. mahārājasya priya-tanayaḥ pravardhamāna-pratāp-opanata-samasta-

2nd Plate : 1st Side

L. 7. s[ā]manta-ma[ṇ]ḍalaḥ sva-bāhu-bala-par-[ākram-o]pārjjita-sa[kala]-yaśo-

L. 8. vibhāsita-dig-antaraḥ sva-śakti-traya-triśūl-āvabhinna-para-narapati-

[1] Read °*rān = mātṛ*°.

[2] Read °*nām = Aśva*°.

[3] Better read *kīrtteḥ*.

[4] Read °*tro = 'neka*.

L. 9. sakala-bala-cetanaḥ[1] Bṛhaspatir=iva nayajño
Manur=iva vinaya-

L. 10. jñaḥ[2] Yudhiṣṭhira iva dharma-parāyaṇaḥ[3]
Arjuna-vad=apara-nara-

L. 11. patibhir=anabhilaṃghita-pauruṣyaḥ[4] aneka-
śāstrārttha-tattvajñaḥ para-

L. 12. ma-brahmaṇyā[5] mātā-pitṛ-pād-ānudhyātaḥ
Śrī-Pridhivī-Jayasiṅgha[6]-va-

2nd Plate : 2nd Side

L. 13. llabha-mahārājaḥ[7] Guddavādi[8]-viṣaye viṣaya-
mahatta[rān=adhi] kāra-pu-

L. 14. ruṣāṃś=ca[9] imam=arttham=ājñāpayaty=
asti[10] viditam=astu vo yath=āsmābhiḥ[11]

L. 15. II. Guddavādi-viṣaye Pulobūṃra-nnāma[12]-grā-
maḥ[13] veda-vedāṃga-

L. 16. vido Dāmaśarmmaṇaḥ pautrāya sva-pitur=
adhika-guṇa-gaṇ-ādhi-

L. 17. vāsasya Śivaśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Taittirika
sabrahmacāriṇe[14] veda-

L. 18. dvay-ālaṃkṛta-śarirāya[15] Gautama-sagotrāya
sva[ka]rmm[16]=a [nuṣṭhāna]-

1 Read *-cetano.*

2 Read *°jño.*

3 Read *°no='rjuna.*

4 Read *°ṣyo='neka.*

5 Read *brahmaṇyo.*

6 Read *Pṛthivī-Jayasiṃha.*

7 Read *°rājo.*

8 *Cf. da* in *veda-vedāṃga* (l. 15).

9 Read *°ṣāṃś=c=ema°.*

10 *Asti* is superfluous.

11 Read *°smābhir=.*

12 Read *°nāma°.*

13 Read *°grāmo.*

14 Read *taittirīyaka sabrahmacāriṇe.*

15 Read *°śarīrāya.*

16 Read *karmm-ānu°.*

3rd Plate : 1st Side

L. 19. parāya pūrvv-agrāhārika[1]-Rudraśarmmaṇe[2] =Asanapura-sthāna-vāstavyāya

L. 20. śrī-Sarvvasiddhi-datyā[3] sarvva-kara-parihāreṇ =āgrahārīkṛtya samprattaḥ [||*]

L. 21. Tathā bhavadbhir=anyaiś=ca dharmmadhi-śata[4]-buddhibhiḥ paripālanīyaḥ [|*]

L. 22. Na kaiś=cid=vādhā karaṇīyā [||*] Ājñap-tir= atra Hastikośa-Vīrakośa[5] [||*] Byā[6]-

L. 23. sa-gītāḥ Bahubhirv=vasudhā dattā bahu-bhiś=c=ānupālitā [|*] Yasya yasya.

L. 24. yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam=iti [||*] Saṃ||5 | gi 8 | di 3[7]

[1] Read *pūrvv-āgra°*.

[2] Read *°ne='sana°*.

[3] Read *dattyā*.

[4] Read *dharmm-ādhiśayita°*.

[5] Read *°kośau*.

[6] Read *Vyāsa*. The word *ślokāḥ* seems to be left out after *gītāḥ*.

[7] The date was originally read in *An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1914, p. 10, as year [*1*]*5*, [*śu*] *di 6* (*Sunday*). Subba Rao reads *saṃ 4*, which is certainly wrong. M. S. Sarma reads *5 gi* (*grī ?*) *8 di 7* (*Journ. Andhra. Hist. Res. Soc.*, V, p. 183). I agree with Mr. Sarma except in the case of the last figure, which appears to me to be certainly 3. *Cf.* the symbol for 3 in l. 30 of the Polamuru grant of Mādhavavarman I. *Cf.* also Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*, Tafel IX, col. viii. The date thus appears to be expressed in the old fashion. See *above*, p. 130 n.

VI

Importance of the Aśvamedha

In a note in *Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 114-115, it has been suggested that since Mādhavavarman I Viṣṇukuṇḍin and Pravarasena I Vākāṭaka have been called simply *Mahārāja* (not *Mahārājādhirāja*) in the inscriptions, they are to be taken as petty feudatory chiefs even though they performed the Aśvamedha. In support of this theory, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar says that "even a feudatory chieftain can perform a horse-sacrifice" (*ibid.*, p. 115) and that the Aśvamedha "may or may not be preceded by a *dig-vijaya*" (p. 116). These theories however are not only against the evidence of the Śruti literature, but also go against the evidence of the inscriptions of these kings.

In inscriptions, Pravarsena I has been called *samrāṭ* which never signifies a subordinate chieftain (*cf.*, *samrāṭ*[*jo*] *vākāṭakānāṃ mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasenasya*, etc., in the Bālaghat plates; *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 270, l. 4; also the Chammak plates; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 235).[1] That Mādhavavarman I was not incapable of *dig-vijaya* is proved by a reference to his expedition for conquering the eastern countries in the Polamaru grant (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VI, p. 17; *above*, p. 131). *Mahārājādhirāja*, based on *rājātirāja*, etc., of the Scytho-Kuṣāṇas, was in early times not very often

1 A critic of my views has tried to explain the passage *samrāṭ(jo) vākāṭakānām* "as mere overlord of the Vākāṭakas" (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 705). There is however a number of instances (*e.g.*, in the early Pallava and Kadamba grants) which prove beyond doubt that *vākāṭakānāṃ* here means "of (*i.e.*, belonging to) the Vākāṭaka family." Another critic takes (*ibid.*, II, pp. 54-55) *samrāṭ vākāṭakānām* to be one word in composition and points out that the passage has been used only in connection with the name of Pravarasena I which fact, he thinks, shows that the Vākāṭakas lost their original imperial position after the time of that king. This interpretation however supports our view that Pravarasena I Vākāṭaka was a *samrāṭ*. The Dudia plates (*Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 260 and n. 7), it should be noted, read *samrāṭaḥ* which, according to Kielhorn, is apparently a mistake for *samrājaḥ*.

used in South India. The Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarman I who performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice ruled over the Kuntala country about the middle of the 5th century A.D. In inscriptions, he is simply styled Dharma-*Mahārāja*—not Dharma-*Mahārājādhirāja* like Pallava Śivaskandavarman and others. The Devagiri grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 34) however calls him *ek-ātapatra,* "possessor of the sole umbrella," which, as scholars have suggested (Moraes, *Kaḍambakula*, p. 39 n), "is indicative of universal sovereignty." A subordinate king can hardly be called *ekātapatra*. The Birur grant (*Ep. Carn.*, VI, p. 91) moreover calls him *dakṣiṇāpatha-vasumatī-vasupati,* "lord of the riches of the land of Dakṣiṇāpatha," which "clearly shows that Kṛṣṇavarman I claimed a sort of suzerainty over the whole of the Deccan." See *above*, p. 222, and *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XV, p. 305; also my paper on Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman I in *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, XVI, p. 160 ff. Note also that the Malavalli record (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 264) describes an Early Kadamba king as *kadaṃbānaṃ rājā*, but also as *vaijayantī-dhamma-mahārājādhirāja*. The Penukonda plates (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 331) mention the Gaṅga feudatory named Mādhava-*Mahādhirāja* and his Pallava overlord Skandavarma-*Mahārāja*. For *Mahārāja* Varāhasiṃha, general of *Rājā* Aparājita, see the Nagda record (*ibid.*, IV, p. 31).

Keith has pointed out that the Aśvamedha "is an old and famous rite, which kings alone can bring, to increase their realms" (*Rel. Phil. Ved. Upaniṣ.*, p. 343). The *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (XV, 1) says that a king victorious and of all the land should perform this sacrifice. According to the *Taittirīya Br.* (III, 8. 9. 4), "he is poured aside who being weak offers the Aśvamedha," and again (V, 4. 12.3), "it is essentially, like the fire offering, an *utsanna-yajña*, a sacrifice of great extent and elaboration." See Keith, *Black Yajus*, pp. cxxxii-iv. According to the *Āpastamba Śrauta S.*

(XX, 1.1),[1] a universal (*sārvabhauma*) king can perform the Aśvamedha, but not (*n* = *āpi*)[2] an un-universal (*a-sārvabhauma*) king. It is clear from these statements that a subordinate ruler could never celebrate the Aśvamedha. A performer of the Aśvamedha may not have been a ruler of the earth from North Pole to South Pole or of India from the Himālaya to the Kumārikā ; but he must have been an independent ruler of a considerable portion of India.

An essential feature of the Aśvamedha, besides the actual slaying of the horse, is that about the completion of the performance, at the bidding of the Adhvaryu "a lute-player, a Rājanya, sings to the lute three *Gāthās*, verses, made by himself which refer to *victories in battle connected with the sacrifice*" (Keith, *Rel. Phil. Ved. Upaniṣ.*, p. 344). Further, "As revealed in the later texts, the sacrifice is essentially one of the princely greatness. The steed for a year roams under guardianship of a hundred princes, a hundred nobles with swords, a hundred sons of heralds and charioteers bearing quivers and arrows, and a hundred sons of attendants and charioteers bearing staves" (*Śat. Br.*, XIII, 4. 2. 5 ; *Baudh. Śr. S.*, XV, 1). See *Black Yajus, loc. cit.* To manage these requirements is simply impossible for a subordinate chief.

Moreover, that the progress of the Aśvamedha was sometimes impeded when other kings challenged one's authority to perform the sacrifice, is not only proved from the early cases referred to in *Śat. Br.* (XIII, 5. 3. 21-22) and

1 See *Śabdakalpadruma-pariśiṣṭa* (Hitabadi Office, Calcutta), s. v. *Aśvamedha*.

2 In place of *n* = *āpi* there is an alternate reading *api*, which is a later interpolation according to Keith (*Black Yajus*, p. cxxxii). The interpolation seems to show that *asārvabhauma* (= not master of all the land) kings could also perform the Aśvamedha. The word *asārvabhauma* however never means a feudatory. The alternative reading only shows that in later times kings who were powerful but who did not claim to be ruler of the earth (*i.e.*, the major portion of the country) did also perform the Aśvamedha. It must however be noticed that the alternate reading goes against all the old texts quoted above.

Mahābhā. (XIV, 74-84), but is also proved by a tradition recorded in such a late work as Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* (Act V). It is stated that Puṣyamitra Śuṅga's sacrificial horse was let loose to roam for a year at its own will under the guardianship of his grandson Vasumitra who was attended by a hundred princes and brought the horse back after defeating the Yavanas as the horse perchance reached the southern bank of the Sindhu (*i.e.*, the Indus) and was captured by the Yavana horsemen. That the Aśvamedha could not be performed without some sort of *dig-vijaya* is further conclusively proved by an eighth century inscription of the Pallavas. The Udayendiram grant No. 2 (*Ind. Ant.*, VIII, p. 273) records that Udayacandra, general of Nandivarma-Pallavamalla, defeated the Niṣāda king Pṛthivīvyāghra who was accompanying an *aśvamedha-turaṅgama*, *i.e.*, horse let loose in connection with a horse-sacrifice. This instance proves beyond doubt that the essential features of the Aśvamedha hardly changed even as late as the 8th century A.D. The famous poet Bhavabhūti who flourished in the same century also recognises the above characteristic when he refers to the sacrifice as *aśvamedha iti viśvajayināṃ kṣatriyāṇām = urjasvalaḥ sarva-kṣatriya-paribhāvī mahān = utkarṣa-niṣkarṣaḥ* (*Uttaracarita*, Act IV).[1] Al-Bīrūnī (first half of the eleventh century A.D.) also says, "certain of them (*i.e.*, sacrifices) can only be performed by the greatest of their kings. So, e.g., the *Aśvamedha*" (Sachau, *Alberūnī's India*, II, p. 139).

Dr. Bhandarkar thinks (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 116) that the number of performances of the Aśvamedha could be increased by simply multiplying the amount of *dakṣiṇā* payable to the Brāhmaṇas. This view is however based on a wrong inter-

[1] I am indebted for this and for some other references to Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri. That the Aśvamedha did not lose its original and essential significance in later times is also proved by the Vaidyanath Temple inscription which refers to Ādityasena as *śāstā samudr-āntar-vasundharāyā yaṣṭ = āśvamedh-ādya-mahākratūnām.*

pretation of the following verse of the *Mahābhārata* (XIV, 88. 14):

> *evam=atra mahārāja dakṣiṇāṃ tri-guṇāṃ kuru,*
> *tritvaṃ vrajatu te rājan brāhmaṇā hy=atra kāraṇam.*

The verse obviously implies that, according to a Brahmanical theory, the merit accruing from the celebration of the Aśvamedha, and not the Aśvamedha itself, could be tripled if the performer offered three-fold *dakṣiṇā* to the Brāhmaṇas.[1]

In *Ind. Cult.*, II, pp. 140-141, Mr. J. C. Ghosh has quoted the *Harivaṃśa* to show that feudatory rulers could also perform the Aśvamedha. Vasudeva, father of Kṛṣṇa, lived at Gokula on Mount Govardhana in the vicinity of Mathurā; he was engaged in cattle-rearing and was a *kara-dāyaka* to Kaṃsa, the king of Mathurā (*Harivaṃśa*, LVI, 1162-61). After the fall of Kaṃsa, the family of Vasudeva removed to Dvārakā. In Kṛṣṇa's conversation with Indra there is an incidental reference which says that while in Dvārakā Vasudeva performed an Aśvamedha (*ibid.*, CL, 8574).[2]

It will be seen that Mr. Ghosh's contention is clearly beside the mark. The question at issue is whether Vasudeva was a feudatory of the Mathurā kings at the time of celebrating the sacrifice after he was established in Dvārakā. There is absolutely no proof to show that he was. We do not know whether the Dvārakā region ever submitted to the kings of Mathurā. It must also be noted that the evidence of traditions recorded in works like the *Harivaṃśa* should always

[1] Another supporter of Dr. Bhandarkar's theory says (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 937 n), "The Aśvamedha certainly had a great imperial significance in the old days. But in the period under review it must have lost that importance. Otherwise it would not have been repeated so often." It may however be pointed out that the Aśvamedha is known to "have been repeated" many times even "in the old days." *Cf.*, *e.g.*, Bharata Dauṣyanti's 133 Aśvamedhas in *Sat. Br.*, XIII, 3. 5. 11; also *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, p. 40 and *above*, p. 125.

[2] Baṅgabāsī ed., *Viṣṇuparva*, 91, 24.

be taken with a grain of salt. *Harivaṃśa* is obviously written for the exaltation and glorification of the family (*vaṃśa*) of Hari (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva) and like similar treatises in honour of other religious heroes is not free from extravaganzas incident to a pronounced theological bias. The critical historian can hardly hope for sober history in such texts. On the contrary the probability is that the parent of the hero of the tale has been given more than his due. In the *New Testament* the saviour of the Christians is described as the son not of a mortal man but of God, and in the *Saundarananda* (II, verses 32, 39, etc.), etc., glories of the mightiest rulers are put on the head of a petty Śākya chief named Śuddhodana.

Mr. Ghosh moreover does not appear to take the evidence of the *Harivaṃśa* as a whole. While describing the Aśvamedha that was attempted by Janamejaya, *Harivaṃśa* itself (Baṅgabāsī ed., *Bhaviṣyaparva*, 2) makes it clear that the horse-sacrifice could not be celebrated by a petty chief. When the Sarpa-yajña was finished, Janamejaya collected materials for the celebration of an Aśvamedha. Then he invited the *ṛtviks*, *purohitas* and *ācāryas*, and said, " I am desirous of celebrating a horse-sacrifice. Do ye dedicate the horse " (verses 5 and 6).[1] Knowing however that the king's sacrifice would not be successful, the omniscient Vyāsa warned him not to begin the Aśvamedha. The sage said, " The Śruti lays down that the Kṣatriyas should celebrate the *Aśvamedha, the foremost of sacrifices. On account of the greatness of it, Vāsava will violate your sacrifice* " (verse 28).[2] " O slayer of enemies," the sage added, " as long as the world will last, Kṣatriyas will not

[1] *Yakṣye='haṃ vājimedhena hayam=utsṛjyatām=iti.*

[2] *Aśvamedhaḥ kratuśreṣṭhaḥ kṣatriyāṇāṃ pariśrutaḥ, tena bhāvena te yajñaṃ vāsavo dharṣayiṣyati.*

That the Aśvamedha could be performed by great kings only is also proved by the fact that Vāsava (=Indra) is always represented as jealous of its performance. The *Harivaṃśa* describes how he endeavoured to spoil the Aśvamedha of Janamejaya

be able to collect materials for your horse-sacrifice " (v. 35).[1] The king became very sad and said, " Console me by saying that the Aśvamedha will again be undertaken by kings " (v. 58).[2] To this Vyāsa replied, " As energy counteracted by another lives in it, so (the knowledge of) the Aśvamedha, although stopped, will exist in the gods and Brāhmaṇas. There will be one Senānī,[3] an *Audbhijja*, a *Dvija* and a descendant of Kaśyapa, who will revive the Aśvamedha in the Kali age " (v. 39-40).[4] Could this great sacrifice, of which the *Harivaṃśa* speaks in so high terms, be performed by a petty feudatory chief ?

Mr. Ghosh further points out (*Ind. Cult.*, III, p. 547 f.) that Sewai Jaysingh of Amber (1699-1744 A.D.), though he was a feudatory of the Mughal Emperors Farrukhsīyar (1712-19) and Muhammad Shāh (1719-48), according to Todd (*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, 2nd ed., Madras, 1873, pp. 328-32), performed a horse-sacrifice and that therefore subordinate rulers could perform

(*Bhaviṣyaparva*, 5). Note also what Viśvāvasu says to the king : " O king, thou hast celebrated three hundred sacrifices ; Vāsava therefore cannot forgive thee any longer " (*tri-yajña-śata-yajvānaṃ vāsavas = tvāṃ na mṛṣyate, ibid.*, 5, 24). In this connection note what Bhandarkar himself says in another occasion (*Ep. Ind.*, XIX, App., p 2, n. 5). " As Indra is represented as being suspicious of Govinda Gupta's power, the latter seems to have been a supreme ruler." See the *Vāmana-Purāṇa*, Ch. 78, in which the significance of the Aśvamedha and the cause of Indra's unfavourable attitude are clearly described ; also *Raghu*, III, 38-66 ; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, IV, 16, 24 ; etc.

[1] *Tvayā vṛttaṃ kratuñ = c = aiva vājimedhaṃ parantapa, kṣatriyā n = āhariṣyanti yāvad = bhūmir = dhariṣyati.*

[2] *Yady = asti punar = āvṛttir = yajñasy = āśvāsayasva māṃ.*

[3] The reference is generally thought to be to Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. But that is doubtful, as the Śuṅgas were Bhāradvājas and not Kāśyapas. On the strength of this verse and another in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Raychaudhuri suggests (*Ind. Cult.*, III, p. 739 ff ; IV, p. 363 ff.) that Puṣyamitra was possibly not a Śuṅga but a Baimbika. The unanimous evidence of the Purāṇas, however, may be set aside only on evidence of a more positive character. Bimbaka or Bimbika appears to have been a predecessor of Puṣyamitra. Ghosh thinks that the Śuṅgas were *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa*, *i.e*, both Bhāradvāja and Kāśyapa.

[4] *Upātta-yajño deveṣu brāhmaṇeṣ = ūpapatsyate, tejasā vyāhṛtaṁ tejas = tejasy = ev = āvatiṣṭhate ; audbhijjo bhavitā kaś = cit senānī kāśyapo dvijaḥ, aśvamedhaṃ kaliyuge punaḥ pratyāhariṣyati.*

the Aśvamedha. In my opinion, however, if Sewai Jaysingh performed any horse-sacrifice he must have become virtually independent before its celebration. In a paper on this subject in *Ind. Cult.*, III, p. 376 ff, I suggested that Sewai Jaysingh may not actually have celebrated any Aśvamedha and pointed out that he was certainly not a vassal of the Mughal emperors of Dehli during the later years of his reign. I quoted the words of Todd himself: 'Among the vanities of the founder of Ambér, it is said that he intended to get up the ceremony of the *Aswamédha yúga* or "sacrifice of the horse" a rite which his research into the traditions of his nation must have informed him had he entailed destruction on all who had attempted it, from the days of Janameja the Pándu, to Jaichand the last Rajpoot monarch of Canauj' (*op. cit.*, p. 339). It was pointed out that Todd only speaks of probabilities— 'it is said,' 'he intended to,' etc. It is moreover a known fact now that Todd who wrote early in the nineteenth century and had scarcely any means of testing the authenticity of bardic tales is not accurate in his details. The very passage quoted above from Todd shows that the celebrated author made at least three statements which are not borne out by authentic history. Firstly, he calls Sewai Jaysingh 'the founder of Ambér.' This is wrong; because Jaysingh was the founder of Jaypur or Jaynagar, and not of Amber. Secondly, he mentions Gāhaḍavāla Jayaccandra as 'the last Rajpoot monarch of Canauj.' It is, however, now definitely known that the last Gāhaḍavāla king of Kanauj was not Jayaccandra, but his son Hariścandra who, as is known from the Machhlishahr and Belkhara inscriptions, ruled as a *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara* at least up to Saṃvat 1257=A.D. 1200 (*J.A.S.B*, 1911, pp. 763-65). Thirdly, he credits Gāhaḍavāla Jayaccandra with the celebration of an Aśvamedha like the Pāṇḍava king Janamejaya. No historian has ever suggested that Jayaccandra performed

any horse-sacrifice. He is never credited with the Aśvamedha in any of the numerous Gāhaḍavāla records, nor in any other work that refers to him. Bardic traditions however report that Jayaccandra performed a Rājasūya-yajña along with the *svayaṃvara* of his daughter, the celebrated Saṃyogitā. I therefore suggested that Todd may have confused the Rājasūya and Aśvamedha sacrifices. This suggestion has however been recently controverted by Mr. P. K. Gode (*Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XV., 364 ff ; *Poona Orientalist*, II, p. 166 ff; *Mīmānsā Prakāsh*, II, p. 43 ff.) who points out that MSS. of Sadāśiva-Daśaputra's *Ācārasmṛti-candrikā*, Kṛṣṇa-kavi's *Īśvaravilāsa*, Vrajanātha's *Padya-taraṅgiṇī*, Viśveśvara's *Pratāpārka* and Hariścandra's *Dharma-saṃgraha* refer to the Aśvamedha performed by Sewai Jaysingh. I have read Cantos IV and V of the *Īśvaravilāsa* as quoted by Mr. Gode in *Mimānsā Prakāsh* and admit that the evidence is genuine.

Now the point is whether Sewai Jaysingh performed the Aśvamedha as a vassal of the Mughal emperors. It is admitted by all writers on Mughal history that within less than twenty years after the death of Aurangzīb in 1707 the actual possessions of the so-called emperors of Dehli became limited within the district round the walls of their capital, and that after the invasion of Nadir Shāh in 1739 no power of the emperors was left in Rajputana. We need not go into details. It will suffice to refer to Sir Jadunath Sarkar who says, 'The invasion of Nadir Shāh dealt such a shattering blow to the empire of Dehli that after it the imperial authority was *totally* eliminated from Rajputana in all but the name. The Rajput princes were left *entirely* to themselves . . . . . . (*Fall of the Mughal Empire*, p. 279). It is interesting in this connection to note that Todd himself takes the celebration of the sacrifice as a 'virtual assumption of universal supremacy' (*op. cit.*, p. 339). He also says, ' . . . . amidst revolution, the

destruction of the empire, and the meteoric rise of the Mahrattas, he (*i.e.*, Jaysingh) not only steered through the dangers, but elevated Ambér above all the principalities around . . . . . ' (*op. cit.*, p. 331).

That Sewai Jaysingh defied imperial authority even before 1739 is proved by the following facts. In the war of succession that followed the death of Aurangzīb, he attached himself to prince Bīdar Bakht, son of Ajam Shāh, and declared him successor of Aurangzīb. For this opposition, Ambér was sequestered and an imperial governor sent to take its possession ; but Jaysingh entered his states sword in hand, drove out the imperial garrisons and formed a league with Ajitsingh of Marwar for their mutual preservation (Todd, *op. cit.*, p. 328). That he had independent political relations with neighbouring states is also proved by the fact that he did ' dispossess the Birgoojur of Deoti and Rajore which were added to his dominions ; they embraced all the tract now called Macherri ' (*op. cit.*, pp. 337-38).

The only proof of Sewai Jaysingh's vassalage to the Dehli emperors is that, according to traditions, he was successively the governor of Agra and Mālwā and was made governor of Mālwā a second time in 1732 under Muhammad Shāh. We must however note in this connection that the great Marāṭhā leader, the Peshwā, snatched away the provinces of Gujarāt and Mālwā from Muhammad Shāh who issued a farmān bestowing the *nāib subahdārī* on the Peshwā.[1] The Marāṭhā leader replied that ' though the *chauth* of the whole of Hindusthān was his due, he would be satisfied with the above two *subhas* ' (Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 277). Will any student of Marāṭhā history believe that the great Peshwā, formally the *nāib subahdār* of Muhammad Shāh, was a feudatory of the *rois fainéants* of Dehli ? Again, the so-called Mughal emperors occupied the throne of

[1] It is interesting to note that the emperor of Dehli conferred (June 13, 1723) the dignified title *Rājādhirāja* on Sewai Jaysingh (*Poona Orientalist*, II, p. 168).

Dehli as late as A.D. 1858 when Bahādur Shāh II (1837-1858) was deposed, and the East India Company pretended to rule in the name of the Mughal emperors. Would it justify us to suppose that Governors-General of the East India Company were feudatory to the puppet emperors of Dehli?

In my opinion therefore the suggestions that Sewai Jaysingh of Amber performed a horse-sacrifice as a feudatory of the Mughal emperors and that therefore the Aśvamedha could be celebrated by a feudatory chief are inadmissible.[1]

[1] Jaysingh may have performed the Aśvamedha after 1739 and before 1744. There is however a tradition current at Jaipur which refers to an invitation for an Aśvamedha received by Nāgojībhaṭṭa from Sewai Jaysingh (*Mīmānsā Prakāsh*, II, p. 43). Even if this tradition be genuine, I think that the sacrifice should be styled not as one celebrated by a feudatory of the Mughals but as one performed by a virtually independent king. The Smṛti verses quoted by Messrs. J. C. Ghosh and A. Ghosh (*Ind. Cult.*, III, pp. 759 f.; 763 f.) prove nothing (see my note, *ibid.*, IV, p. 272 f.).

VII

DIVYAS[1]

The prevalence of the system of trial by ordeals in ancient Indian courts is amply attested by the Smṛti literature. The subject has been dealt with in the *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya, II, verses 95-113, and the Sanskrit lexicon *Śabdakalpadruma* (Calcutta) under the word *parīkṣā*. It has also been discussed by Hopkins in *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 282 ff., by Stenzler in *Z.D.M.G.*, IX, p. 661, by Schlagintweit in *Die Gotteswitheile der Inder* (1866) and by Jolly in *Recht und Sitte*, p. 145. We refer our readers to a very interesting paper "On the Trial by Ordeal among the Hindus by 'Ali Ibrāhīm Khān, Chief Magistrate of Benares, communicated by Warren Hastings Esq." in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I, pp. 389-404. See also *S.B.E.*, XXV, p. cii; Kaegi in *Alter und Hirkunft des german. Gotteswitheils* (1887), B. V. Bhat in *Bhārat-Itihās-saṃśodhak-Maṇḍal* (3rd *vṛtta*, p. 42 ff.) and S. N. Sen in *Administrative System of the Marathas*, 2nd ed., pp. 363-68.

According to scholars like Bühler and Jolly (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 283; *S.B.E.*, XXV, p. cii; *Recht und Sitte*, p. 145), it is possible that all the nine forms of ordeal mentioned in later Smṛti literature existed in India from the earliest times. This implication evidently takes its stand on some doubtful early references and on the solitary example of a form of the *phāla-divya* in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣat* (VI, 16, 1-2) and the recognition of the *daiva* (divine) proofs in the *Āpastamba Dharma-sūtra* (II, 11, 3;

[1] My paper on the *Divyas* was originally read before the members of the Andhra Historical Research Society at Rajahmundry (Madras Presidency), and was published in the Society's *Journal*, Vol. VII, p. 195 ff.

cf. 29.6).[1] Some scholars, *e.g.*, Hopkins, Stenzler, Schlagintweit and Kaegi, on the other hand, believe that fire and water ordeals were first used and then came the elaborate trials by balance and other ordeals, till eventually there were nine formal ordeals (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 283 ; *Z.D.M.G.*, IX, p. 661, etc.). The latter view seems to be more probable.

The earliest reference to trial by ordeal in India is to be found in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣat* (*loc. cit.*) where it is said that a man accused of theft takes in his hand a heated axe and is proved guilty if it burns him, but is acquitted if it does not. The above *Upaniṣat* seems to have been composed in a country to the South of Gandhāra (modern Rawalpindi and Peshawar districts) and in a place between the Indus and the Jumna (see *op. cit.*, VI, 14, 1-2; VI, 10, 1). The reference to the axe-ordeal in it shows that this form of the *phāla-divya* was used in that country when the *Upaniṣat* was composed about 550 B.C. (see *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I., pp. 116 and 112). There is however no proof to show that this ordeal was used in the different parts of India from such an early date as the sixth century B.C.

More important seems to be the recognition of the *daiva* or divine[2] form of proof by the *Āpastamba Dharma-sūtra*

1 Āpastamba—"In doubtful cases they shall give their decision after having ascertained the truth by inference, ordeal and the like means" (*S.B.E.*, II, p. 168). Trial by ordeals are said to have been referred to in early works like the *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*. Geldner thought that the ordeal by red-hot axe is referred to even in the *Ṛgveda*, and Griffith discovered in another passage of it references to the fire and water ordeals. According to Weber, the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* makes mention of the balance ordeal. Macdonell and Keith however do not agree with any of these scholars. Scholars like Schlagintweit, Weber, Ludwig and Zimmer think that the fire ordeal is mentioned in the *Atharva-veda*; but Bloomfield and Whitney have disproved this theory. The system of trial by ordeals may or may not have been referred to in the early Vedic literature ; but the practice seems to have been not unknown in India even in the early Vedic period (see *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 317-18, 364-65). A full-fledged system universally used was, however, most probably unknown.

2 *Cf.* Nārada—"Proof is said to be of two kinds, human and divine. Human proof consists of documentary and oral evidence. By divine proof is

(*loc. cit.*) which is a book on law. It must be noted that no other early text on criminal law prescribes trial by ordeal for the person accused. According to Bühler (*S.B.E.*, II, 2nd ed., p. xiv), the *Sūtras* of Āpastamba are to be assigned to a date not later than the third century B.C., but may be placed 150 or 200 years earlier. Āpastamba's however is a general recognition; none of the ordeals has been defined in the *Sūtras*. The chief subject discussed by him under this head are assault, adultery and theft. It is interesting to note in this connection that Kauṭilya, supposed to be the author of the celebrated *Arthaśāstra*, does not recognise the application of ordeals in connection with civil or criminal procedure. According to the Purāṇas, *Mudrārākṣasa*, *Mahāvaṃśa* and *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Kauṭilya lived about the time of Candragupta Maurya in the 4th century B.C. He is therefore generally supposed to have been more or less of the same age as Āpastamba and to have had in his purview the administration of the Mauryas whose kingdom embraced almost the whole of India. These facts may not be sufficient to justify us in assuming that Kauṭilya is earlier than Āpastamba,[1] but they may suggest that the

meant the ordeal by balance and other (modes of divine test); where a transaction has taken place by day, in a village or town, or in the presence of witnesses, divine test is not applicable. Divine test is applicable (where the transaction has taken place) in a solitary forest, at night, or in the interior of a house, and in cases of violence or of denial of a deposit" (*S.B.E.*, XXXIII, pp. 30-31).

[1] See, however, Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, 4th ed., p. 161: "I have pointed out that its contents describe the state of things as existing immediately before the establishment of the Maurya empire, while Mr. Samasastry suggests that it may refer back even to the pre-Buddhistic age. The book seems to be based on much more ancient treatises now lost and a good deal of it must have been archaic in Maurya times." I do not agree with Johnston and Jolly (see J.R.A.S., 1929, p. 77 ff.) who think that Kauṭilya, Cāṇakya or Viṣṇugupta was a fictitious figure. The testimony of the Purāṇas and other works (though not contemporaneous) regarding Kauṭilya's connection with Candragupta Maurya may be disregarded only on definite negative evidence. Absence of reference to Kauṭilya in the works of classical writers and in early works like the *Milindapañho* is not definite proof. Kauṭilya appears to have been the founder of a new school of Political Philosophy, and the *Arthaśāstra* may be the work of this school.

system of trial by ordeal was not much popular and was not universally used in India about the fourth century B.C. which is generally supposed to be the time of Kauṭilya and Āpastamba. The general reference to *daiva* trial by Āpastamba possibly shows that the system of applying ordeals, known to him and used in his time and place, was not elaborate like that illustrated by later law-givers, but was rudimentary like that recognised in the *Manusaṃhitā*.

In view of the fact that the law-givers lived in different ages and in different parts of this vast country, we cannot expect unanimity in their views regarding trial by ordeal. It is interesting to note that the word *divya* originally meant an " oath," that is, a form of invoking the Supreme Being to prove the truth of an allegation ; but later it was generally understood to mean " trial by ordeal," that is, a form appealing to the direct interposition of divine power. In connection with the development of the system of trial by ordeals, it is also interesting to note that while the system is unknown to the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, it is seen sprouted in the codes of Āpastamba and Manu, a little developed at the time of Yājñavalkya and Nārada, and fully grown at the age of the *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara and the *Divyatattva* of Bṛhaspati. According to Kauṭilya (*Artha-śāstra*, II, i), " Self-assertion (*svayaṃvāda*) on the part of

Many of its views may be ascribed to Kauṭilya ; but the book, in its present form, is certainly post-Christian. The reference to *Cīna* (derived from the name of the Tsin dynasty) proves that the Arthaśāstra cannot be earlier than the later half of the 3rd cent. B.C. The language and structure of the text and reference to the system of dating in terms of regnal year, *month*, *fortnight* and day (II, VI) prove that the work cannot be much earlier than the 2nd cent. A.D. which is the time of Rudradāman's Junagadh inscription. The present *Arthaśāstra* may be placed in the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D. The suggestion that works like the *Arthaśāstra* present an ideal rather than the real state of society can only be partially true. The *Arthaśāstra* could hardly avoid referring to trial by ordeals, had the system been popular in the locality where Kauṭilya's school developed. For an interesting paper on the date of the Arthaśāstra by Mr A. N. Bose, see *Ind Cult.*, IV, p 435 ff ; see also my paper *Popularisation of Classical Sanskrit and the Age of Sanskrit Dramas*, read at the Indian History Congress, Allahabad (1938).

either of the litigant parties has been found faulty ; examination (*anuyoga*), honesty (*ārjava*), evidence (*hetu*) and oath (*śapatha*)—these alone enable a man to win his cause." It appears that the system of trial by ordeal did not fully develop and was not popular at the time and locality of the author (or authors) of the *Arthaśāstra*. This fact possibly goes to show that Kauṭilya cannot be placed—as is the view of some scholars[1]—in the 3rd century A.D. *i.e.*, almost about the time of Yājñavalkya.[2]

The simple *śapatha* of the *Arthaśāstra* is seen developed at the age of the *Manusaṃhitā*, *i.e.*, about the 1st century A.D. or the 1st century B.C. (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 279).[3] According to Manu, a Brāhmaṇa—in order to justify the truth of his statement—should be compelled to swear by a declaration of truth ; a Kṣatriya by his *vāhana* (horse, elephant, etc.), a vaiśya by his cattle, seed-corn and gold, and a Śūdra by all sins. Alternatively, a Śūdra may be put to fire, drowned into water or compelled to touch separately the heads of his sons and wives and swear ; in these cases, the man who is not burnt by fire or quickly drowned by water and whose sons and wives (heads of whom were touched in swearing) do not fall ill within a short time, is to be considered as true regarding his statement (see *Manusaṃhitā*, VIII, verses 113-15). Manu therefore seems to have known only three forms of ordeals, the last

1 See Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd ed., p. 5, note.

2 *Cf. Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 383 : " As the *Sūtras* do not notice ordeals except for a general recognition of them as ' divine ' proofs on the part of the late Āpastamba, and as the later writers Yājñavalkya and Nārada describe five ordeals adding the plough-share, scales and poison, it is reasonable to conclude that Manu stands, in time as well as description, midway between the two sets of authors and is the first to describe ordeals already known and practised."

3 Later writers on law have prescribed *śapatha* for minor and *divya* for major crimes. *Cf.*

deva-brāhmaṇa-pādāṃś=ca putra-dāra-śirāṃsi ca |
ete tu śapathāḥ proktā manunā svalpa-kāraṇe ||
sāhaseṣv=abhiśāpe ca divyāni tu viśodhanam ||
(*Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *śapatha*)

form of which however is not mentioned as a legal *divya* in the works of the later law-givers.[1]

In the age of the Code of Yājñavalkya who possibly lived in Mithilā about the 4th century A.D. (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 279), the system of trial by ordeals became more developed. According to this law-giver "Balance, fire, water, poison and Kośa—these are the ordeals used here for the proof of innocence, when the accusations are heavy and when the accuser offers to hazard a mulct (in case he should fail); or one party may be tried by ordeal if he likes, the other then must risk an amercement; but the trial may take place even without any wager if the crime committed be injurious to the king . . . Balance for women, children, old men, the blind, the lame, Brāhmaṇas and the sick; but for the Śūdra, fire or water or seven *yavas* of poison. Unless the loss of the accuser amounts to a thousand pieces of silver, he must not be tried by the spear-head, nor by poison, nor by balance; but if the offence be against the king or if the crime is heinous, he must acquit himself by one of these trials in all cases" (*Yājña-valkya-saṃhitā*, II, 95-99). Yājñavalkya thus appears to have known six forms of the ordeals, *viz.*, (1) Balance, (2) Fire, (3) Water, (4) Poison, (5) *Kośa* and (6) Spear-head.

The existence of trial by ordeals in Indian courts in the 7th century A.D., *i.e.*, some time after Yājñavalkya, is

[1] This form of ordeal seems to have been largely used in Bengal. It can be faintly traced in the altercations of rustic girls of Bengal even at the present time. Swearing before five learned Brāhmaṇas is also mentioned by al-Bīrūnī (Sachau, *op cit.*, II, pp. 158-59). On one occasion a man is known to have taken an oath on the feet of the Marāṭhā king Sāhu Chatrapati. "Then Bhikhājī Harpāla said that the Mahārāja's feet were the Kṛṣṇa to him and that he would take an oath on his feet. Accordingly he swore that the *watan* in the aforesaid *mauja* belonged to him and that Kamtle was a *Thalvaik* (*Mirasi*) peasant Within a day or two of this oath, Bhikhājī Gaikwāḍ got Cholera; he had to be carried back to the village on the back of a bullock and there he died after a month in consequence of that false oath taken on his behalf." See S. N. Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, 2nd ed., p. 368.

evidenced by the accounts left by Yuan Chwang who travelled in India from 629 to 645 A.D. Ordeals by water, fire, weighment or poison are said to have been much esteemed as efficient instruments for the ascertainment of truth, and are described with approval by the Chinese pilgrim (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 172). The six principal ordeals, *viz.*, poison, water, image-water, balance, hot-coin and spear-head, are also described by the celebrated Mahomedan savant, al-Bīrūnī, who wrote his book on India in the second quarter of the eleventh century (Sachau, *Alberūnī's India*, II, pp. 158-60).

The fully developed form of the system of trial by ordeals, however, can be found in the works of later writers on law, such as Bṛhaspati, Vijñāneśvara and others. According to the *Divyatattva* (XIX, 4) of Bṛhaspati who seems to have lived about the 7th century A.D. (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 280), there are nine different forms of ordeals. They are :

Dhaṭo = gnir = udakañ = c = aiva viṣaṃ kośaś = ca pañcamam ।
Ṣaṣṭhañ = ca taṇḍulāḥ proktaṃ saptamaṃ tapta-māṣakam ॥
Aṣṭamaṃ phālam = ity = uktaṃ navamaṃ dharmajaṃ smṛtam ॥

I. *Dhaṭa-divya* or *Tulā-divya*, *i.e.*, Ordeal by Balance.

The beam having been previously adjusted, the cord fixed and the scales made perfectly even, the accused person and a Brāhmaṇa judge (*prāḍvivāka*) fast a whole day. Then, after the accused has been propitiated with *homa* and deities have been worshipped, the person is weighed. When he is taken out of the scale, the *prāḍvivāka* prostrates before the balance, pronounces some *mantras* and having written the substance of the accusation on a *lipi-patra*, binds it on the head of the accused. After reciting some more *mantras*, the judge puts the man again on the

scale. If he weighs more than before, he is guilty [1]; if less, innocent ; and if exactly the same, he is held partially guilty. In case of doubt, the accused must be weighed again ; but if any part of the balance—though well fixed—breaks down, it will be considered as proving his guilt (*Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *tulā*).

II. *Agni-divya, i.e.*, Ordeal by Fire.

In performing the fire-ordeal, an excavation nine cubits long, two spans broad and one span deep is made in the ground and filled with a fire of Pippala wood. Into this fire the accused person must walk bare-footed; if his feet are unburnt he is innocent, otherwise guilty (*As. Res.*, I, p. 390).

III. *Jala-divya* or Ordeal by Water.

In the water-ordeal, the accused should be caused to stand in a depth of water sufficient to reach his navel ; but care should be taken that no ravenous animal be in it and that it is not moved by much air. A Brāhmaṇa is then directed to go into the water with a staff in his hand, and a soldier shoots three arrows on dry ground from a cane bow. A man is then despatched to bring the arrows that has been shot farthest, and, after he has taken it up, another man is also ordered to run from the edge of the water. At this moment, the person accused is ordered to grasp the foot or the staff of the Brāhmaṇa who stands by him in the water, and immediately to dive into it. He must remain under water till the two men who were sent to fetch the arrows return. If he raises his body or head above the

1 Al-Bīrūnī says (*op. cit.*, p. 159), "In case he has spoken the truth, he now weighs more than the first time." We are not definite whether this is wrong or is based upon a local practice. Yuan Chwang also says, "The accused is weighed against a stone; and if the latter is lighter the charge is false, if otherwise it is true."

surface of the water before the arrows are brought back, his guilt is proved[1] (*ibid.*, pp. 390-91). The water ordeal is mentioned in the *Padmāvatyavadāna* of the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* (S. N. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 573).

IV. *Viṣa-divya* or Ordeal by Poison.

The poison-ordeal was performed in two different ways:

(*a*) After the *homa* is performed, and the accused person is bathed, 2½ *ratis* or 7 *yavas* of *viṣanāga* (a poisonous root) or of *śaṅkhyā*[2] (*i.e.*, white arsenic) are mixed with 6 *māṣas* or 64 *ratis* of clarified butter which the accused should take from the hands of a Brāhmaṇa. If the poison is visibly effective, the man is condemned; if not, absolved.

(*b*) A hooded snake, called *nāga*, is thrown into an earthen pot into which is also dropped a ring, seal or coin. The accused person is then ordered to take it out with his hand. If the serpent does not bite him, he is proved innocent; otherwise, he is pronounced guilty (*As. Res.*, I, p. 391).

Yuan Chwang seems to refer to a third variety of this ordeal when he says, "The poison ordeal requires that the right hind leg of a ram be cut off, and according to the portion assigned to the accused to eat, poisons are put into the leg, and if the man is innocent he survives, and if not the poison takes effect" (Watters, *loc. cit.*).

1 Trial by ordeal existed also in ancient Babylonia as is evidenced by the Code of Hammurabi who, according to Hall (*Ancient History of the Near East*, 7th ed., p. 211), ruled from *circa* 2123 to 2080 B.C. The Code which seems to have been based on ancient Sumerian laws takes cognisance of a form of the water-ordeal. It was used when a man was accused of sorcery and a woman of adultery without sufficient evidence. In both cases the accused were to leap into the river, and their innocence was established if they came out alive (see *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, I, xiv).

2 Hindi *Saṅkhiyā*; Bengali *śĕko-viṣ*. According to al-Bīrūnī (*op. cit.*, p. 159) the *bish* (poison) which the accused person was invited to drink was called *brahmana*. This may be a mistransliteration for *Viṣa-nāga*.

V. *Kośa-divya* or Ordeal by "Image-Washed" Water.

The *Kośa-divya* is performed in the following way. The accused person is made to drink three draughts of water into which images of the sun, the Devī and other deities have been washed for the purpose. If the man has any sickness or indisposition within 14 days after taking the draughts, his crime is considered to be proved (*ibid.*, p. 391). Al-Bīrūnī says (*op. cit.*, p. 159) that the accused is taken to the temple of the most venerated idol of the town or realm and that the priests pour water over the idol of the town and give it to the accused to drink. The accused, according to him, vomits blood, in case he is guilty.

VI. *Taṇḍula-divya* or Ordeal by Rice.[1]

The rice-ordeal is generally applied to persons suspected of theft. Some dry rice is weighed with the Śālagrām or some *mantras* are recited over it, and the suspected persons are severally asked to chew a quantity of it. As soon as it is done, they are ordered to throw it on some leaves of the Pippala tree or on some *bhūrjapatra* (bark of a tree from Nepāl or Kāśmīr). The man from whose mouth rice comes dry or stained with blood, is pronounced guilty and the rest innocent (*ibid.*, pp. 391-92). For two cases of the *Taṇḍula-divya*, the first in connection with payment of money and the second with reference to a boundary question, see Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, etc., p. 177.

VII. *Tapta-māṣaka-divya* or Ordeal by the Hot *Māṣaka* Coin.

In performing this ordeal, the appointed ground is cleared and rubbed with cowdung. The next day at sunrise, after the worship of Gaṇeśa and other deities is done, the *prāḍvivāka*, having recited some *mantras*, places a round

[1] *Cf.* *Cāl-paṛā* of rural Bengal.

pan of gold, silver, copper, iron or clay, with a diameter of 12 inches and depth of 3 inches, and throws into it. one seer or 80 siccā weight of clarified butter or oil of sesamum.[1] After this, a māṣakı coin is thrown into the pan, or alternatively a ring of gold or silver or iron is cleaned and cast into the oil which some Brāhmaṇas proceed to heat. When the thing in the pan is very hot, they throw a fresh leaf of Pippala or Bilva into it ; if the leaf is burnt, the thing is taken to be sufficiently hot. Then after reciting a *mantra*, the *prāḍvivāka* orders the accused person to take the coin or ring out of the pan. If he can do this without his fingers being burnt or blistered, he is considered not-guilty ; otherwise guilty[2] (*As. Res.*, I, p. 392 ; see also Pitāmaha quoted in the *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya, II, 113, and *Alberūnī's India*, II, pp. 159-60). For cases of this ordeal in records of A.D. 1580 and 1677, see S. N. Sen, *loc. cit.*

VIII. *Phāla-divya* or Ordeal by Spear-Head.

In performing the *phāla-divya*, the Brāhmaṇas, after due worship of Gaṇeśa, draw nine circles on the ground with cowdung at intervals of 12 inches, each of which circles should have 12 inches as diameter except the ninth which may be smaller or bigger than the rest. Then the *homa* is performed, gods are worshipped and some *mantras* are recited. The accused person then performs ablutions and, wearing wet clothes and facing towards the east, stands in the first circle with his hands on his girdle. After this, the *prāḍvivāka* and the Brāhmaṇas order him to rub some unhusked rice between his palms which they carefully inspect.

[1] Twenty *palas* of ghee and oil, according to Pitāmaha.

[2] Even in the 12th century A.D. the real trial in England was by the ordeal of water, failing to get through which the accused was condemned. The English water ordeal was however more akin to the *tapta māṣaka divya* of the ancient Indian Penal Code. "The accused had to dip his hand into boiling water and take out a stone from the bottom of the vessel. The hand was then tied up for a time (usually seven days), and if, when the bandages were taken off, it was found to be healed, the man was held acquitted" (Warner & Marten, *Groundwork of British History*, p. 79).

If any scar of a former wound, mole or any other mark appears on his palms, they stain it with a dye, so that it may be distinguished from any new mark after trial. The accused is then ordered to hold both his hands open and close together. Having, then, put into his hands seven leaves of the trembling tree or Pippala, seven of the *śamī* or *jend*, seven blades of the *darbha* grass, a little barley moist ened with curd and a few flowers, they tie the leaves on the hands with seven threads of raw cotton. Some *mantras* are then recited by the Brāhmaṇas who next write a statement of the case and the point in issue on a palmyra leaf together with the appointed *mantra*, and tie the leaf on the head of the accused person. Then they heat an iron-ball or a spear-head, weighing about five pounds, and throw it into water: they heat it again, and again cool it in the same way. The third time they heat the iron till it is red-hot. Next, the Brāhmaṇas, after reciting the *mantras*, take the red-hot iron with tongs and place it in the hands of the accused who is standing in the first circle. He must then gradually step from circle to circle, his feet being constantly in one of them. After reaching the eighth circle, he must throw the iron in the ninth to burn some grass which must be left there for that purpose. He is thereafter ordered to rub some unhusked rice between both his palms; if, on examination, any mark of burning appears on either of the palms, he is considered guilty; if no such marks appear, his innocence is proved (*As. Res.*, I, p. 392). For a case of grasping a red-hot iron in a record of 1309 A.D. in the presence of the god Hoysaleśvara, see S. N. Sen, *loc. cit.*; see also *Alberūnī's India*, II, p. 160.

IX. *Dharmaja-* or *Dharm-ādharma-divya*, *i.e.*, Ordeal by (the images of) Dharma and Adharma.

In performing the image-ordeal (or Dharm-ādharma ordeal), two processes may be followed.

(*a*) An image named Dharma is made of silver, and another called Adharma of clay or iron.[1] Both of these images are thrown into a big earthen jar. If the accused can bring the image of Dharma out of the jar after thrusting his hand into it, he is considered innocent ; but if he brings out the image of Adharma, he is condemned.

(*b*) An image is drawn on a piece of white cloth and another on a piece of black cloth. The first is called Dharma and the second Adharma.[2] These are severally rolled up in cowdung[3] and thrown into a large jar, without being overseen by the accused. The accused is then ordered to bring out one of those rolls. If he brings out the figure on white cloth, he is acquitted ; if that on the black cloth, convicted (*ibid.*, p. 392 ; see also Pitāmaha quoted in *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya, II, 113).

Certain months and days are specified for the different species of ordeals. There are also other injunctions in the Smṛti literature ; but the law-givers are not unanimous on these points. It is not necessary to notice these in detail. We simply quote[4] a passage from 'Ali Ibrāhīm Khān (*op. cit.*, p. 393), where we find the tradition based on Vijñāneśvara's *Mitākṣarā* and followed in the Benares region about the end of the eighteenth century.

" Agrahāyaṇa, Pauṣa, Māgha, Phālguna, Śrāvaṇa and Bhādra for that of fire ; Āśvina, Kārttika, Jyaiṣṭha and Āṣāḍha for that by water ; Pauṣa, Māgha and Phālguna for that by poison ; and regularly there should be no water ordeal on the Aṣṭamī or eighth, Caturdaśī or fourteenth day of the new or full moon, in the intercalary month, in the

1 Lead or iron, according to Pitāmaha.

2 According to Pitāmaha, " A Dharma in white and an Adharma in black are to be drawn either on the *bhūrja* or cloth."

3 Cowdung or clay, according to Pitāmaha.

4 We use our method of transliteration.

month of Bhādra, on Śanaiścara or Saturday, and on Maṅgala or Tuesday ; but whenever a magistrate decides that there shall be an ordeal, the regular appointment of months and days need not be regarded.

"The *Mitākṣarā* contains also the following distinctions. In cases of theft or fraud to the amount of a hundred gold *mohurs*, the trial by poison is proper; if eighty *mohurs* be stolen, the suspected person may be tried by fire ; if forty, by the balance; if from thirty to ten, by the image-water; if two only, by rice."

As has been already noticed, differences in the views of different law-givers appear to us to be due to differences in their time and place. A few instances will possibly enable our readers to understand the point clearly.

(*a*) One of the most glaring instances of such differences may be seen in the views of Bṛhaspati on the eighth form of the nine *divyas*, namely, the *phāla-divya*. According to Bṛhaspati, " A piece of iron, eight *aṅgulis* in length, four *aṅgulis* in breadth and weighing twelve *palas*, is called a *phāla* ; when the *phāla* is red-hot (*agni-varṇa*), the thief (here, stealer of a cow) must once lave it with the tongue ; if (the tongue) is not burnt, he is held innocent; if otherwise, convicted." The passage *go-caurasya pradātavyaṃ tapta-phāl-āvalehanam=iti smṛtir=iti maithilāḥ* (*Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *phālam*) possibly goes to show that this form of the *phāla-divya* was very popular in North Bihar and that Bṛhaspati lived not very far from the Mithilā region. This form of the ordeal seems to have been unknown in South India.[1] The licking form of the *phāla-divya* is mentioned by Yuan Chwang (Watters, *loc. cit.*). who however describes it as a fire-ordeal.

[1] Difference in the practice of the *phāla-divya* is also evidenced by the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣat* where the thing to be heated is said to have been a *paraśu*, i.e., axe.

(*b*) A local variety of the third ordeal, namely *jaladivya*, has been thus noticed by 'Ali Ibrāhīm Khān: "In the villages near Benares, it is the practice for the person, who is to be tried by this kind of ordeal, to stand in water up to his navel, and then holding the foot of a Brāhmaṇa, to dive under it as long as a man can walk fifty paces very gently. If, before the man has walked thus far, the accused rise above the water, he is condemned; if not, acquitted" (*op. cit.*, p. 393).

Al-Bīrūnī possibly refers to a slightly different custom when he says (*op. cit.*, p. 159), "They bring the man to a deep and rapidly flowing river, or to a deep well with much water . . . . . . Then five men take him between them and throw him into the water. If he has spoken the truth, he will not drown and die."

According to Yuan Chwang (Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 172), the accused was put in one sack and a stone in another, then the two sacks were connected and thrown into a deep stream; if the sack containing the stone floated and the other sank, the man's guilt was proved.

A different form of the *jala-divya* was prevalent in the Marāṭhā country. "The parties and the Pandhars were sent to a sacred river like the Kṛishṇa, or better, to a *saṅgama* of special sanctity like the Kṛishṇa-Veṇā Saṅgama. There, at an auspicious moment, the Pandhars stood on the bank after their bath in the sacred stream, the defendant and the plaintiff still remaining standing in the river. Either the Patel or some other trustworthy man there present was then ordered to draw the rightful party from the water and pass a conscientious verdict" (Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 365).

(*c*) Another glaring instance is in connection with the question whether ordeals should be applied to women. According to Nārada, who seems to have lived in Nepāl about the 5th century A.D. (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 280), women cannot be tried by ordeals (*strīṇāñca na bhaved=divyam*). But

another law-giver, Śūlapāṇi, says that this prohibition refers to *divyas* other than the *tulā-divya*, and we have already seen that Yājñavalkya prescribes trial by the balance ordeal for women. There is also a view that in connection with a quarrel between a man and a woman, the latter should undergo ordeals (*Śabdakalpadruma*, s. v. *parīkṣā*).

The application of ordeals to women appears to be supported by the Rāmāyaṇic story of Sītā undergoing the fire-ordeal in order to prove that her chastity was not violated by Rāvaṇa during her confinement in Laṅkā, and also by some epigraphic references. Some records (*e.g.*, *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 248) say that Candaladevī (Candrike or Candrikādevī), wife of Lakṣmīdeva I (*c.* A.D. 1209), the Raṭṭa king of Saudatti, " attained victory over a number of serpents in an earthen water-jar " ; the allusion here is certainly to the queen having undergone trial by the poison-ordeal (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 556 and note 5).

It is evidenced by some old Bengali works that, in Bengal also, the purity of wives was sometimes examined by ordeals. Thus, Khullanā, heroine of Kavikaṅkaṇ Mukundarām's *Caṇḍīkāvya* (about Śaka 1499=A.D. 1577) is reported to have undergone successfully four ordeals, the first three of which are in reality the water, poison and spear-head ordeals (see D. C. Sen, *Baṅgabhāṣā-o-Sāhitya*, 4th ed., p. 371). It is also stated that Khullanā was put into a *jatu-gṛha* made specially for the purpose of testing her chastity, and then it was set fire to. This form of the fire-ordeal is however unknown to the Smṛti literature. But the description of the *Caṇḍīkāvya* seems to be more or less conventional. It is therefore not certain whether these ordeals were actually prevalent in Bengal in the second half of the sixteenth century A.D. Behulā (Sanskrit : *Vipulā*), the famous heroine of the *Manasā-maṅgal* story, is also said to have proved her purity by undergoing with success several of the ordeals (*Pravāsī*, Kārttik, 1333 B.S., p. 67).

From the above references we see that the prevalence of the system of trial by ordeals is not only proved by the Smṛti literature, but can also be proved from references to the practice in inscriptions and other writings. For inscriptional references, we refer our readers to *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 294; XV, p. 394; and *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, pp. 556 and note 5, 571 and note 3. Here we quote three instances of trial by ordeal, one from an inscription and two from the paper of 'Ali Ibrāhīm Khān who claims to have been an eye-witness of the trials:

I. In the Kaliyuga year 4289 (A.D. 1188) and the 15th year of the Goa Kadamba king Vīra-Jayakeśideva III "on Sunday, the eighth day of the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha in presence of the fortunate prime-minister, Īśvarārya Daṇḍanāyaka, Śivaśakti, the *ācārya* (priest) of the god Śrī-Kalleśvaradeva of the well called Attibāvi at Kittūr, and Kalyāṇaśakti, the *ācārya* of the original local deity of that place (Mūlasthānadeva), opened a subject of dispute, the former asserting that a plot of ground in that place, called Ālakoḷaṇakeyi, had from of old belonged to Kalleśvaradeva, while the latter claimed it for the original local deity (Mūlasthānadeva).

"The agreement that they both of their own free-will entered into at the presence of the same Īśvara Daṇḍanāyaka was this: Śivaśakti said, 'Whereas this plot of ground (called) Ālakolāṇakeyi belonged of old to Kalleśvaradeva, Devarāśi, the father of Kalyāṇaśakti, unauthorisedly brought it under cultivation under the Caṇḍe state and had a grant written in his own favour; and I am now prepared to undergo the *phāla-divya* in support of my statement that it had belonged from ancient times to Kalleśvaradeva.' (On the other hand), the argument of Kalyāṇaśakti under oath with the sacred symbols on his head was, if the Caṇḍe Saṃsthāna gave this plot of ground (called) Ālakoḷaṇakeyi to my father Devarāśi and to myself on behalf of the original

local deity (Mūlasthānadeva), it has not been unauthorisedly brought under cultivation.'

"Iśvara Daṇḍanāyaka then said, 'Go both of you before the assemblage of the bankers of the village of Degāve, which has been granted in perpetuity to Brāhmaṇas ; and on their assenting to this, on Sunday, the seventh day of the dark fortnight of Āṣāḍha in the same year, in the presence of all the bankers of the *agrahāra* village Degāve and in front of the temple of Mallikārjunadeva of that place, Śivaśakti, undergoing the ordeal of *phāla-divya*, made oath that the piece of land (called) Ālakoḷanakeyi belonged of old to the god Kalleśvara of Attibāvi; while Kalyāṇaśakti, taking the sacred symbols on his head (or standing on his head !), declared that it was the property of the original local deity (Mūlasthānadeva). After this, on Monday, the eighth day of the same dark fortnight, all the bankers of the *agrahāra* village Degāve having convened themselves in the assembly-hall and having examined the hand of Śivaśakti, decided that he had won his cause, and that Kalyāṇaśakti who had taken the sacred symbols on his head had lost it, and that the plot of ground called Ālakoḷaṇakeyi belongs to the god Kalleśvara of Attibāvi, and gave a certificate of success to Śivaśakti" (Kittūr inscription, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, pp. 307-09).

II. "In the year of the Messiah 1783, a man was tried by the hot-ball (*phāla-divya*) at Benares in the presence of me, 'Ali Ibrāhīm Khān, on the following occasion. A man had accused one Śaṅkar of larceny, who pleaded that he was not guilty; as the theft could not be proved by legal evidence, the trial by the fire-ordeal was tendered to the appellee and accepted by him. This well-wisher of mankind advised the learned magistrates and Paṇḍits to prevent the decision of a question by a mode not conformable to the practice of the Company's Government, and recommended an oath by the water of the Ganges and the leaves of the

tulasī in a little vessel of brass (copper ?) or by the book *Harivaṃśa*, or by the stone Sālagrām, or by the hallowed ponds or basins, all which oaths are used in Benares. When the parties obstinately refused to try the issue by any one of the modes recommended and insisted on a trial by the hot-ball, the magistrates and Paṇḍits of the court were ordered to gratify their wishes and, setting aside those forms of trial in which there could be only a distant fear of death or loss of property as the just punishment of perjury by the sure yet slow judgment of heaven, to perform the ceremony of ordeal agreeably to the *Dharmaśāstra* : but it was not till after mature deliberation for four months that a regular mandate was issued for trial by the red-hot ball; and this was at length granted for four reasons : first, because there was no other way of condemning or absolving the person accused; secondly, because both parties were Hindus and this mode of trial was specially appointed in the *Dharmaśāstra* by the ancient law-givers; thirdly, because this ordeal was practised in the dominions of the Hindu Rājās [1] ; and fourthly, because it might be useful to inquire how it was possible for the heat of fire to be resisted and for the hand that held it to avoid being burned. An order was accordingly sent to the Paṇḍits of the courts and of Benares to this effect : ' Since the parties accusing and accused are both Hindus and will not consent to any trial

1 A case of the same ordeal (described as *agni-divya* according to the system of Nārada) has been quoted by Prof. S. N. Sen (*op. cit.*, pp. 577-78) from a Marāṭhī document " On Wednesday, my hands were bandaged. The next day, the aforesaid Paṇḍit sat . . . . .on the banks of the Godāvarī, opened the bandage of my hands in the presence of the god and had them rubbed with rice . . . . . The signs on the two hands were all marked, and one iron-ball, 50 *palas* or 168 *tolās*, 2 *māṣas*, was duly weighed and thrice heated in fire. They bound a *bhāgya-patra* on my forehead, placed seven *aśvattha* leaves on my hands and bound them with thread. Then they placed the ball on my head and ordered me to walk over seven circles and drop the ball in the eighth . . . . . dropped the ball on some grains which had been kept in the appointed place and the grains took fire . . . . . ," etc. The accused person in this case came out successful through the ordeal.

but that by the hot-ball, let the ordeal desired be duly performed in the manner prescribed by the *Mitākṣarā* or Commentary on Yājñavalkya.

"When preparations were made for the trial, this well-wisher to mankind, attended by all the learned professors, by the officers of the court, the *sipāhīs* of Captain Hogan's battalion and many inhabitants of Benares, went to the place prepared, and endeavoured to dissuade the appellor from requiring the accused to be tried by fire, adding, 'if his hand be not burned, you shall certainly be imprisoned.' The accuser, not deterred by this menace, persisted in demanding the trial. The ceremony, therefore, was thus conducted before me, 'Ali Ibrāhīm Khān.

"The Paṇḍits of the court and the city, having worshipped the god of knowledge and presented their oblation of clarified butter to the fire, formed nine circles of cow-dung on the ground; and, having bathed the appellee in the Ganges, brought him with his clothes wet; when, to remove all suspicion of deceit, they washed his hands with pure water: then, having written a statement of the case and the words of the *mantra* on a palmyra leaf, they tied it on his head; and into his hands, which they opened and joined together, seven leaves of Pippala, seven of Jend, seven blades of the *darbha* grass, a few flowers and some barley moistened with curd, which they fastened with raw white cotton. After this they made the iron-ball red-hot and, taking it up with tongs, placed it in his hands. He walked with it, step by step, the space of three *gaz* and a half through each of the seven intermediate rings, and threw the ball into the ninth where it burned the grass that had been left in it. He next, to prove his veracity, rubbed some rice in the husk between his hands, which were afterwards examined and were so far from being burned that not even a blister was raised on either of them. Since it is the nature of fire to burn, the officers of the court and the people

of Benares, nearly five hundred of whom attended the ceremony, were astonished at the event; and this well-wisher to mankind was perfectly amazed. It occurred to his weak apprehension that probably the fresh leaves and other things which, as it has been mentioned, were placed in the hands of the accused, had prevented their being burned; besides that the time was but short between his taking the ball and throwing it down; yet it is positively declared in the *Dharmaśâstra* and in the written opinion of the most respectable Paṇḍits that the hand of a man who speaks truth cannot be burned; and 'Ali Ibrāhīm Khān certainly saw with his own eyes, as many others also saw with theirs, that the hands of the appellee in this case were unhurt by the fire. He was consequently discharged. But that men might in future be deterred from demanding the trial by ordeal, the appellor was committed for a week. After all, if such a trial could be seen once or twice by several intelligent men acquainted with natural philosophy, they might be able to assign the true reason why a man's hand may be burned in some cases and not in others "[1] (*As. Res.*, I,

[1] In connection with the above remark it may be interesting to note what Edwin Edser writes about the " Spheroidal State."

" Expt. 52 . . . . ,

" Expt. 53 . . . . The above experiments illustrate what is called the Spheroidal State of water. A laundress generally tests the temperature of her iron by observing whether it is sufficient to cause a drop of saliva to assume the Spheroidal State. Jugglers were formerly in the habit of plunging their hands into molten lead, their immunity from burning depending on the moisture on their hands assuming the Spheroidal State. Blacksmiths will often lick a bar of red-hot iron. In early times, a common form of ordeal was to walk on red-hot ploughshares. Many who came through this ordeal triumphantly must have ascribed to supernatural intervention an occurrence which was strictly in accordance with natural law.

" Water is not the only substance which can assume the Spheroidal State. All liquids will do so if placed on a metal surface that is sufficiently hot. If a mixture of solid carbolic acid and ether is poured into a red-hot platinum crucible, it will assume the Spheroidal State If mercury is poured on to the mixture, it will be frozen though the platinum dish remains red-hot "—See *Heat for Advanced Students* (Macmillan & Co., 1928), pp. 195-96.

pp. 395-98). For another instance of the *phāla-divya*, see B. V. Bhat, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

III. "A Brāhmaṇa named Ṛṣīśvara Bhaṭṭa accused one Rāmdayāl, a linen-painter, of having stolen his goods. Rāmdayāl pleaded not guilty; and after much altercation, consented to be tried, as it had been proposed, by the vessel of oil (*tapta-māṣaka-divya*). This well-wisher to mankind advised the Paṇḍits of the court to prevent, if possible, that mode of trial; but since the parties insisted on it, an ordeal of hot oil, according to the *Śāstra*, was awarded for the same reasons which prevailed in regard to the trial by the ball. The Paṇḍits who assisted in the ceremony were Bhīṣma Bhaṭṭa, Nānā Pāṭhak, Maṇirām Bhaṭṭa, Śiva, Anantarām Bhaṭṭa, Kṛpārām, Viṣṇuhari, Kṛṣṇacandra, Rāmendra, Govindarām, Harikṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa and Kālidās; the three last were Paṇḍits of the court. When Gaṇeśa had been worshipped and the *homa* presented according to the *Śāstra*, they sent for this well-wisher to mankind who, attended by the two Dāroghās of the Dīvānī and Faujdārī courts, the Kotvāl of the town, the officers of the court and most of the inhabitants of Benares, went to the place of trial, where he laboured to dissuade Rāmdayāl and his father from submitting to the ordeal; and apprised them that, if the hands of the accused should be burned, he would be compelled to pay the value of the goods stolen, and his character would be disgraced in every company. Rāmdayāl would not desist; he thrust his hand into the vessel and was burned.[1] The opinion of the Paṇḍits was then taken, and they were unanimous that by the burning of his hand, his guilt was established and he was bound to pay Ṛṣīśvara Bhaṭṭa the price of what he had stolen; but if the sum exceeded five hundred *ashrafīs*, his hand must be cut off

[1] The boldness and persistence possibly show that poor Rāmdayāl was actually innocent.

by an express law of the *Śāstra* ; and a mulct also must be imposed on him according to his circumstances.

"The chief magistrate, therefore, caused Rāmdayāl to pay Ṛṣīśvara seven hundred rupees in return for the goods which had been stolen ; but as amercements in such cases are usual at the courts of judicature at Benares, the mulct was remitted, and the prisoner was discharged.

"The record of this conviction was transmitted to Calcutta in the year of Messiah 1783 ; and in the month of April, 1784, the Governor-General, Imād-ud-daulah Jelādat Jang Bahādur,[1] having seen the preceding account of trials by ordeals, put many questions concerning the meaning of Sanskrit words, and the cases here reported, to which he received respectful answers . . . . " (*ibid.*, pp. 399-400).

The judgment of a case of the *tapta-māṣaka* ordeal (described as *agni-divya*) has been quoted by Prof. S. N. Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 366-67 : "You were then sent with Rājaśrī Āpājī Hanumant Subhedār and Bālājī Dādājī and Baghojī Raut, officers from the Huzur and the District, to Pali for the performance of an *agni-divya*. The *got* of that place assembled in the temple and they lighted a fire and heated ghee and oil mixed in customary proportion. You bathed and after a declaration of your right, took two pieces of metal from the heated liquid in the presence of all. Then your hand was bandaged and sealed. The next day the aforesaid parties were brought to the Huzur by the Kārkun of the District officer. On the third day, in the presence of the Majalasi, the bandage was taken off and the seals broken. On your hand were found only the marks that formerly existed there. Nothing more, nothing less ; you passed the ordeal successfully."

[1] The same as Warren Hastings, Governor of Bengal, 1772-74, Governor-General, 1774-85.

VIII

Vayalur List of Early Pallava Kings

We have already said that the traditional list of early Pallava kings given in some late records is, in our opinion, not much valuable for the purpose of authentic history. All recent writers on Pallava history however have put much faith in the genealogical list given in the Vayalur grant of Rājasiṃha. The late Mr. H. Krishnasastri said, "It looks, therefore, as if the authors of the Kāśakuḍi, Udayendiram and Velurpāḷaiyam plates, all of which are admittedly later than the Vāyalūr record, but not much later, drew these stray names for airing their knowledge of early Pallava chronology purely from memory and were not always correct" (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 147). But this scholar and many others think the Vayalur list historically valuable. There are however reasons to believe that the earlier names of this list are all legendary and unhistorical and that the rest of the list has in it not only the names of a single branch of the Pallava family.

The following is the list of the Pallavas given in the Vayalur record :—

1.	Brahman.	7.	Aśvatthāman.
2.	Aṅgirā.	8.	Pallava. [1]
3.	Bṛhaspati.	9.	Aśoka. [2]
4.	Saṃyu.	10.	Harigupta.
5.	Bharadvāja.	11.	Bhūtadatta.
6.	Droṇa.	12.	Sūryavarman.

[1] Nos. 1-8 are also mentioned in the Kuram (*S. Ind. Ins.*, I, p. 144 ff.), Udayendiram No. 2 (*Ind. Ant.*, VIII, p. 273) and Velurpalaiyam plates (*S. Ind. Ins.*, II, p. 508). These names are evidently legendary.

[2] Aśoka is mentioned in the Kasakudi (*S. Ind. Ins.*, II, p. 342) and Velurpaḷaiyam plates. In the latter inscription he is called Aśokavarman. According to Hultzsch, the name is a modification of Aśoka, the great Maurya king of Pāṭaliputra.

13. Viṣṇugopa (I).
14. Ghṛtaka.
15. Kaḷinda.
16. Jyāmalla.
17. Ripumalla.
18. Vimala.
19. Koṅgaṇi.
20. Kālabhartā.[1]
21. Cūtapallava.
22. Vīrakūrca (I).[2]
23. Candravarman.
24. Karāla.
25. Viṣṇugopa (II).

26. Skandamūla.
27. Kāṇagopa.
28. Vīrakūrca (II).[3]
29. Skandavarman (I).
30. Kumāraviṣṇu (I).
31. Buddhavarman (I).
32. Skandavarman (II).
33. Kumāraviṣṇu (II).[4]
34. Buddhavarman (II)
35. Skandavarman (III).
36. Viṣṇugopa (III).[5]
37. Viṣṇudāsa.
38. Skandavarman (IV).
39. Siṃhavarman (I).
40. Vīravarman.
41. Skandavarman (V).
42. Siṃhavarman (II).[6]
43. Skandavarman (VI).
44. Nandivarman.[7]
45. Siṃhavarman (III).
46. Siṃhavarman (IV).
47. Viṣṇugopa (IV).
48. Siṃhavarman (V).
49. Siṃhaviṣṇu.
50. Mahendravarman[8];

etc., etc.,

[1] There is no proof that Nos. 10-20 were historical persons

[2] He was possibly the first king of the family.

[3] The Velurpalaiyam record appears to identify Vīrakūrca I (No. 23) with Vīrakūrca II (No. 28). This fact possibly shows that Nos. 23-27 are unhistorical. May Vīrakūrca (II) be identical with Vīrakorcavarman of the Darsi plate?

[4] This Kumāraviṣṇu II issued the Chendalur grant.

[5] This Viṣṇugopa may have been the contemporary of Samudragupta. On palaeographical grounds however the contemporary of Samudragupta (*circa* 330-75) cannot be placed after the issuer of the Chendalur grant.

[6] Possibly the king mentioned in the Penukonda plates of about A.D. 475, According to the *Lokavibhāga*, he ruled from 436 to about 458 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV. p. 331 ff.). Names 40-42 are found consecutively in the genealogy of the Pallavas of the Nellore-Guntur region; see Nos. 4-6 at page 174 above

[7] He possibly issued the Udayendiram grant No. 1.

[8] He ascended the throne about 600 A.D.

IX

KĀVYA STYLE IN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SUCCESSORS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

G. Bühler in his famous article entitled *The Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry* (translated from German in *Ind. Ant.*, XLII, 1913) has proved the existence of a Kāvya literature in Sanskrit and Prakrit during the first five centuries of the Christian era and showed that a great period of literature following the style of the poetic school of Vidarbha (Berar) lies before the middle of the fourth century A.D. The poetic citations in the *Mahābhāṣya* (*Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 326 ff.) by Patañjali (generally placed in the second century B.C., but is probably later), exhibiting metres characteristic of artificial poetry, such as Mālatī, Pramitākṣarā, Praharṣiṇī and Vasantatilakā and many verses in the Anuṣṭubh agree fully as regards contents and the mode of expression, with the court Kāvyas.[1] The *Buddhacarita* (translated into Chinese between 414 and 421 A.D.) by Aśvaghoṣa, said to have been a contemporary of Kaniṣka, also shows a marvellous development of the Kāvya style. The description of the literary capacity of a Śaka prince named Rudradāman (c. 130-150 A.D.) in the Junagadh record as *sphuṭa-laghu-madhura -citra-kānta-śabda-samayodār-ālaṃkṛta-gadya-padya-* [**kāvya-vidhāna-pravīṇa*] which marvellously agrees with the principles of the Vaidarbhī style explained by Daṇḍin (*Kāvyādarśa*, I, 41-42) and Bharata (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. XVI), and the prose style of the Junagadh record (150 A.D.) itself and the Nasik inscription of the time of Rudradāman's

[1] It is interesting to note that the famous Nanaghat inscription of Nāganikā, which is placed in the 1st or 2nd cent. B.C., uses the figurative expression *sagara-girivara-valayāya pathaviya pathama-vira*, etc.

Sātavāhana contemporary Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi show, according to Bühler (p. 34 note), that "in the second century, there had been many superior and more elaborate compositions; because the author of the Girnar (*i.e.*, Junāgadh) inscription was only an obscure provincial writer and the author of the Nasik inscription was only a court poet of the Andhra (*i.e.*, Sātavāhana) king." Bühler has in this connection examined from *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, some eighteen inscriptions, which are partly or wholly metrical and of definitely known date, including the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta described as a *Kāvya* by its author Hariṣeṇa, the Junagadh inscription of Gupta years 136-38 (456-58 A.D.) described as a *Grantha* and the Mandasor inscription of Mālava year 529 (473-74 A.D.) described as a *Praśasti* by its author Vatsabhaṭṭi. The dates of the records examined fall in the period between 350 and 550 A.D. From the great number of similar inscriptions of the period, Bühler suggested that in the above period "the use of the Kāvya style in inscriptions, especially in longer ones, was in vogue and, from this very circumstance, it follows that court poetry was jealously cultivated in India."

It should be noticed that in considering the question Bühler did not take into account the inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas and other successors of the Sātavāhanas. The reason seems to be that early writers like Bühler and Kielhorn did not think the records of many of these dynasties, *e.g.*, the Vākāṭaka records, to be earlier than the middle of the sixth century A.D. It was therefore easy for Bühler to remark (p. 34 note), "It is however very questionable whether the poetic art had reached in southern India that degree of development which it had reached at the special centres of intellectual life in Northern India." But evidence shows that Bühler's doubts are unjustified. It is true that the Prakrit language, which gradually died out from North Indian inscriptions as early as the beginning of the second

century A.D., lingered on in the records of Southern India as late as the beginning of the fourth century. It is also true that many of the southern inscriptions are written in a matter-of-fact style. But that the Kāvya style was cultivated in Southern India is perfectly established by a number of South Indian inscriptions, especially those belonging to the family of the Kadambas. The poetic genius of the authors of the Junagadh and Nasik inscriptions was certainly inherited by their successors in the Vākāṭaka and Kadamba courts and, patronised by the Calukyas, found in Ravikīrti, a rival of Bhāravi and Kālidāsa.

The Vākāṭakas ruled over the greater part of the Deccan before the rise of the Calukyas about the middle of the sixth century. All the Vākāṭaka grants are therefore to be assigned to a period anterior to 550 A.D. Most of their records are however written in elegant Sanskrit prose; but the prose style is not so much artificial as that of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. Bühler has rightly remarked, "It was a familiar custom in the fifth century to glorify the erection of temples and other edifices, by means of such occasional composition." The Vākāṭaka records, it should be noted, are ordinary land grants and cannot therefore claim to have been written in the style of *Praśastis*, *Granthas* or (*Gadya-*) *Kāvyas*. But the prose style of the Vākāṭaka records is as much artificial as that of the contemporary ordinary land grants belonging to the Guptas. We know that Daṇḍin defines the *ojo-guṇa* as *samāsa-bhūyastva* and describes it as the very life of artificial prose (*ojaḥ samāsa-bhūyastvam = etad = gadyasya jīvitam*; *Kāvyādarśa*, I, 70). This *ojaḥ* is characteristic of the prose style of the Vākāṭaka records. The Chammak, Dudia and other records describe the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena I in a phrase containing no less than thirty-six syllables. The Bhāraśiva relatives of the Vākāṭakas are described in several inscriptions as *aṃsa-bhāra-sanniveśita-śivaliṅg-odvahana-śiva-supari-*

tuṣṭa-samutpādita-rājavaṃśānāṃ parākram-ādhigata-bhāgīrathy-amala-jala-mūrdh-ābhiṣiktānāṃ daś-āśvamedh-āva-bhṛtha-snānānām (33+21+11 syllables). The plurality of adjectival phrases, reference to epic characters in passages like *yudhiṣṭhira-vṛtti* and the length of sentences in these records exhibit the artificial nature of the style. It should also be noted that verses are sometimes found in the prose inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas. The seal of the Dudia plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, for example, has the following verse in *anuṣṭubh* metre and Vaidarbhī style :

Vākāṭaka-lalāmasya krama-prāpta-nṛpa-śriyaḥ,
Jananyā yuvarājasya śāsanaṃ ripuśāsanam.

The figures of speech exhibited by this verse are Anuprāsa and Yamaka. Records like the Ajanta inscription of the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa are wholly metrical and show that the poetic genius of the Vākāṭaka court poets was of no mean order. This record is fragmentary ; but the existing *pādas* show that many metres characteristic of artificial poetry were used by the poet. *Pādas* like *purandar-opendra-sama-prabhāvaḥ svabāhu-vīry-ārjita-sarva-lokaḥ* ; *pravarasenaḥ pṛthu-pīna-vakṣāḥ saroruh-ākṣaḥ kṣapit-āri-pakṣaḥ* ; etc.; and the only existing complete verse [1]

Ari-narendra-mauli-vinyasta-maṇi-kiraṇa-līḍha-
kram-āmbujaḥ,
Pravarasenas = tasya putro = 'bhūd = vikaśan-navendīvar-
ekṣaṇaḥ

prove that the author of the Ajanta record tried to show his skill in the Kāvya style. Repetition of the hard sound *kṣa* in

1 Kielhorn is inclined to describe the metre of this verse as a species of *mātrā-samaka* ; but Dr. Venkatasubbia takes it to be a variety of *gītikā* (see *Ind. Cult.*, V, p. 114). This metre with slight variation is found in lines 1-2 of the Tusam inscription (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 270), verses 1-24 of the Talgunda record and at p. 4 of the Bower MSS. In the 5th-7th centuries the metre seems to have been in use in different parts of India.

the line *pravarasena*, etc., shows that the poet preferred the Gauḍīya-rīti of poetry to the Vaidarbhī.[1]

The earliest records of the successors of the Sātavāhanas in Lower Deccan are written in Prākrit prose. That the influence of the Sātavāhana court poets was still working on their successors in South Indian courts is proved by the artificial style exhibited by some of the Ikṣvāku records discovered at Nagarjunikonda. The artificial nature of the style of the Ikṣvāku court poets is shown not only by the *ojo-guṇa* and the length of sentences in the Ikṣvāku inscriptions, but also by the mode of glorifying the Buddha and the reigning king's ancestor with a large number of epithets, some of which exhibit figures of speech characteristic of the Kāvya style. Most of the Nagarjunikonda records begin with an adoration to Lord Buddha—*namo bhagavato deva-rāja-sakatasa supabudha-bodhino savaṃñuno sava-sat-ānukaṃpakasa jita-rāga-dosa-moha-vipamutasa mahāgaṇi-vasabha-gaṃdhahathisa saṃmasabudhasa dhātuvara-parigahitasa.* In one of these records, the adoration is—*namo bhagavato ikhāku-rāja-pravara-risi-sata-pabhava-vaṃsa-bhavasa deva-manusa-sava-sata-hita-sukha-maga-desikasa jita-kāma-kodha-bhaya-harisa-tarisa-moha-dosasa dapita-māra-dapa-māna-pasamana karasa dasabala-mahabalasa aṭhaṃga-maga-dhamacaka-pavatakasa caka-lakhaṇa-sukumāra-sujāta-caraṇasa taruṇa-divasa-kara-pabhasa sarada-sasi-sama-darisanasa sava-loka-cita-mahitasa budhasa* (4 + 20 + 19 + 19 + 18 + 9 + 14 + 16 + 11 + 12 + 10 syllables). At least the figurative expressions *taruṇa-divasakara-pabha* and *sarada-sasi-sama-darisana* are concieved quite in the Kāvya style. But such is not only the case with the adoration; the earlier king, Cāṃtamūla I, is generally glorified in his son's and grandson's records as *virūpākha-*

1 Development of the Kāvya style in the Vākāṭaka period is also evidenced by the existence of a Prakrit poem entitled *Setubandha* described by Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* as composed by Pravarasena who has been identified with the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II.

pati-mahāsena-parigahitasa agihot-āgiṭhoma-vājapey-āsamedha-yājisa hiraṇakoṭi-go-satasahasa-hala-satasahasa-padāyisa savathesu apatihata-saṃkapasa vāsiṭhīputasa ikhākusa siri-cāṃtamūlasa (16+17+22, etc., syllables).

The early Sanskrit records of South-Eastern Deccan are written in prose. They are not composed on special occasions like erection of temples or other edifices and are not to be classed with *Gadyakāvyas*. But that the writers of these records were not unfamiliar with the artificial style of Sanskrit prose is proved by the *ojo-guṇa* of the records. Reference may be made to the description of Mādhavavarman I in the records of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family. The Chikkulla grant describes him with seven ep thets, the longest having no less than fifty-five syllables. The longest epithet describing Mādhavavarman I in the Ramatirtham plates contains as many as forty-nine syllables. It is however better to refer to the Ipur and Polamuru grants of Mādhavavarman I himself who ruled in *circa* 535-85 A D.

Ipur grant—*smṛti-mati-bala-sattva-dhairya-vīrya-vinaya-saṃpannaḥ sakala-mahīmaṇḍala-manujapati-pratipūjita-śāsanas=trivaranagara-bhavana-gata-yuvati-hṛdaya-nandanaḥ svanaya-bala-vijita-sakala-sāmant-ātula-bala-vinaya-naya-niyama-sattva-saṃpannaḥ sakala-jagad-avanipati-pratipūjita-śāsano='gniṣṭoma-sahasra-yāji-hiraṇyagarbha-prasūta=ekādaś-āśva-medh-āvabhṛtha-vidhūta-jagat-kalmaṣaḥ susthira-karma-mahārāja-śrī-mādhavavarmā* (18+21+19+32+18+16+18+14 syllables).

Polamuru grant—*atula-bala-parākrama-yaśo-dāna-vinaya-saṃpanno daśaśata-sakala-dharaṇītala-narapatir=avasita-vividha-divyas=trivaranagara - bhavana-gata-parama-yuvati-jana-viharaṇa - ratir=ananya-nṛpati - sādhāraṇa- dāna-māna-dayā-damadhṛti-mati-kṣānti-śaury - audārya- gāmbhīrya - prabhṛty-aneka guṇa-sampaj-janita-raya-samutthita-bhūmaṇḍalavyāpi vipulayaśāḥ kratu-sahasra-yājī hiraṇyagarbha-prasūta=ekādaś-āśvamedh-āvabhṛtha-snāna-vigata-jagad-enaskaḥ sarvabhūta-*

parirakṣaṇa-cuñcur=vidvad-dvija-guru-vṛddha-tapasvi-janāśrayo mahārājaḥ śrī-mādhavavarmā (19+16+25+60+7+8+20+11+15+4+6 syllables).

The Early Kadambas who succeeded the Cuṭu Śātakarṇis in South-Western Deccan in the first half of the 4th century were subdued by the Early Calukyas about the middle of the sixth when the latter established themselves at Badami. Excepting the Talgunda inscription of Śāntivarman, however, no other early record of the Kadambas can be said to have been composed on special occasions like the inscriptions examined by Bühler. Nevertheless, the small Kadamba records, many of which are wholly or partly metrical, contain in them verses which are specimens of excellent poetry. We give below a collection of the *namaskāra* verses from different records of the Early Kadambas and the reader will see that they would make a *maṅgalācaraṇa* suitable to any work of the best writers of Sanskrit poetry.

Jayati bhagavān jinendro guṇarundraḥ prathita-parama-kāruṇikaḥ,
Trailoky-āśvāsakarī dayā-patāk-occhritā yasya.
Jayaty=arhaṁs=trilokeśaḥ sarva-bhūta-hitaṁkaraḥ,
Rāg-ādy-ari-haro='nanto='nanta-jñāna-dṛg-īśvaraḥ.
Jayati sur-āsura-makuṭa-praṇihita-maṇi-kiraṇa-khacita-caraṇa-yugaḥ,
Daṇḍa-kamaṇḍalu-hastaḥ padma-pravar-āsano brahmā.
Jayaty=udrikta-daity-endra-bala-vīrya-vimardanaḥ,
Jagat-pravṛtti-saṁhāra-sṛṣṭi-māyādharo hariḥ.
Jitaṃ bhagavatā tena viṣṇunā yasya vakṣasi,
Śrīḥ svayaṃ bhāti devaś=ca nābhi-padme pitāmahaḥ.
Jayaty=ambuja-gehāyāḥ patir=viṣṇuḥ sanātanaḥ,
Varāha-rūpeṇa dharāṃ yo dadhāra yuga-kṣaye.

Jayati viśvadeva-saṃghāta-nicit-aika-mūrtiḥ sanātanaḥ,
Sthāṇur=indu-raśmi-vicchurita-dyuti-maj-jaṭā-mukuṭa-maṇḍanaḥ.
Jayati dhruva-bāl-endu-jaṭā-mukuṭa-maṇḍanaḥ,
Asādhya-nidhanaḥ śambhur=viśveśo jagatām patiḥ.
Hara-nārāyaṇa-brahma-tritayāya namaḥ sadā,
Śūla-cakr-ākṣasūtr-odgha-bhava-bhāsita-pāṇine.

The first of these verses written in the Āryā metre occurs in several inscriptions, the earliest belonging to the time when Kākusthavarman was a *yuvarāja* about the beginning of the fifth century.

When we find such beautiful lines as the following in a small and quite ordinary grant like the Halsi grant of Mṛgeśavarman's eighth year we cannot but think that the Kadaṁba court poet was a consummate artist :

Kadamba-kula-satketor=hetoḥ puṇy-aika-sampadām,
Śrī-kākustha-narendrasya sūnur=bhānur=iv=āparaḥ.
Śrī-śāntivaravarm=eti rājā rājīva-locanaḥ,
Khal=eva vanit=ākṛṣṭā yena lakṣmīr=dviṣad-gṛhāt.
Tat-priya-jyeṣṭha-tanayaḥ śrī-mṛgeśa-narādhipaḥ,
Lok-aika-dharma-vijayī dvija-sāmanta-pūjitaḥ.
Matvā dānaṃ daridrāṇāṃ mahāphalam=it=īva yaḥ,
Svayaṃ bhaya-daridro='pi śatrubhyo='dān=mahad-bhayam.
Tuṅga-gaṅga-kul-otsādī pallava-pralay-ānalaḥ, etc.

To illustrate how the writer of an ordinary small land grant brings in epic characters, we may refer to the Bennur grant of Kṛṣṇavarman II.

Yathā yudhiṣṭhirasy=eva śālāyāṃ yasya santatam,
Brāhmaṇānāṃ sahasrāṇi samaśnāti yathāsukham.
Sa rājā rāja-rājasya pranaptā kṛṣṇavarmaṇaḥ,
Pautraḥ śrī-viṣṇudāsasya putraḥ śrī-siṃhavarmaṇah.
Śaśvad-brahmottaraṃ kurvan prajāś=ca paripālayan,
Mahī-vinihatāmitraḥ kṛṣṇo jayatu kṛṣṇavat,

In this connection we should also note that the Bannahalli grant of the same king describes his grandfather Viṣṇuvarman as *gandharva-hastiśikṣā-dhanurvedeṣu vatsa-rājendr-ārjuna-sama* and *śabd-ārtha-nyāya-vidvat.* We are here to notice not only the reference to epic and historical characters like Vatsarāja, Indra and Arjuna, but also to the fact that Kadamba Viṣṇuvarman claimed to have been skilled in *gandharva* (music), *śabda* (grammar, or the science of words), *artha* (their *vācya, i.e.*, expressed, *lakṣya, i.e.*, indicated, and *vyaṅga, i.e.*, suggested import) and *nyāya* (logical method). It is interesting that the poet (*kavi*) Śāba-Vīrasena, the *saciva* of Candragupta II, describes himself in the Udayagiri cave inscription as skilled in *śabda, artha,* and *nyāya* (*cf. kautsaḥ śāba iti khyāto vīrasenaḥ kul-ākhyayā, śabd-ārtha-nyāya-lokajñaḥ' kaviḥ pāṭa-liputrakaḥ*). *Cf.* also, the epithet *pada-padārtha-vicāra-śuddha-buddhi* applied to Umāpati Dhara, court-poet of Lakṣmaṇa-sena, in the Deopara grant of Vijayasena. Evidently Kadamba Viṣṇuvarman claimed to have been a musician and poet like Samudragupta and his court encouraged artists like that of the Gupta king and of the Śaka king Rudradāman.

The metrical portions of Early Kadamba records generally contain fine verses written in the Vaidarbhī style. As it is not possible to quote all of them we satisfy ourselves only with two verses in the Upajāti metre from a little charter of the time of Ravivarman :

Śrī-viṣṇuvarma-prabhṛtīn = narendrān
nihatya jitvā pṛthivīṃ samastām,
Utsādya kāñc-īśvara-caṇḍadaṇḍaṃ
palāśikāyāṃ samavasthitaḥ saḥ.
Raviḥ kadamb-oru-kul-āmbarasya
guṇāṃśubhir = vyāpya jagat samastam,
Mānena catvāri nivartanāni
dadau jinendrāya mahīṃ mahendraḥ.

The only Early Kadamba inscription that was composed on a special subject is the Talgunda record of Śāntivarman. It describes how a tank was constructed by Kākusthavarman, father of Śāntivarman, for a temple of Śiva. It is written in verse. Verse 34 of the record says that a poet named Kubja was responsible for the composition of the *Kāvya* which the author himself inscribed on stone. The poet cannot be ranked with the best writers of Sanskrit poetry ; but his literary talent was not of a mean order. Kubja's *Kāvya* is written in 34 verses which exhibit such metres as Puṣpitāgrā, Indravajrā, Vasantatilakā, Mandākrāntā, Śārdūlavikrīḍita and Pracita (a vareity of Daṇḍaka). The first 24 verses are however composed in a metre rarely found in classical Sanskrit works. Kielhorn has fully described it in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 26 ff (see *above*, p. 382 note). We give here an analysis of the Talgunda inscription.

The inscription may be conveniently divided into four parts; Part I deals with *maṅgalācaraṇa* and *namaskāra*; Part II with the early history and glories of the family to which the hero of the performance belongs; Part III with the description of the hero and his performance, and Part IV with conclusion and benediction.

Part I. The record begins with the auspicious word *siddhaṃ* and a verse in adoration to Sthāṇu, *i.e.*, Śiva. The *namaskāra* is then extended to learned Brāhmaṇas well-versed in the Ṛk, Yajus and Sāma Vedas.

Part II. Kākusthavarman, the hero of the performance, is introduced, as well as the family to which he belonged. The story how the family was named Kadamba owing to its early members tending a Kadamba tree with care. The birth of Mayūraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba family, and his exploits. His quarrel with the Pallava king of Kāñcī and victorious campaigns against the Pallavas and Bṛhad-Bāṇas. His installation by the king of Kāñcī on the

throne of the kingdom lying between the Prehāra and the Western Ocean. Description of his *abhiṣeka* by Ṣaḍānana and the Mothers. His son Kaṅgavarman, grandson Bhagīratha and great-grandson Raghu.

Part III. Description to Raghu's brother and successor Kākusthavarman, the hero of the performance. The prosperity of the Kadamba kingdom during his reign. His daughters married to princes of the Gupta and other royal families. How his feudatories obeyed him. How he constructed a *taḍāka* in the *siddhālaya* of Bhagavān Bhava, *i. e.*, Śiva, which had been occasionally visited by such ancient kings as Sātakarṇi.

Part IV. Adoration to the Bhagavān, *i. e.*, Śiva, residing at Sthānakundūra, *i. e.*, Talgunda in the kingdom of king Śāntivarman who wore three diadems. Benediction—Happiness for the dwelling (*i.e.*, the temple) and prosperity for the subjects.[1]

[1] There is another way of looking at the question of the development of Kāvya style. Epigraphic evidence does not prove that the style developed much earlier than the first or second century A D. As regards classical Sanskrit (*Saṃskṛta*, the reformed or refined language), it owes its development and popularisation to schools of grammarians like Pāṇini. It was however not popular in North India before the 2nd cent. and in South India before the 4th cent. A.D., as Prakrit was still the language of the records of kings and the common people. The story of a Sātavāhana king's ignorance of Sanskrit which led the grammarian Sarvavarman to write the famous *Kātantra* or *Kalāpa-vyākaraṇa* shows that even cultured people did not understand Sanskrit. In my paper, *Popularisation of Classical Sanskrit and the Age of Sanskrit Dramas*, read at the Indian History Congress, Allahabad (1938), I have tried to prove that the cradle of *saṃskṛta* was the north-western part of India and that no work in Classical Sanskrit and developed Kāvya style (especially, dramas which are meant for the common people) can be given a date before the Christian era. It is interesting that Sanskrit was at first favoured by foreign immigrants who came through N. W. India to which Pāṇini (inhabitant of Sālātūra in Gandhāra) belonged. It is also interesting that the earliest known classical author, Aśvaghoṣa, is connected with Kaṇiṣka's court at Puruṣapura (—Peshawar).

X

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES OF DYNASTIES

[A]

A.D. 100		
	Later Sātavāhanas	
	Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi	c. 107-131 A.D.
c. 140 A.D.	Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi	c. 132-159. ,,
	Sivaśrī Sātakarṇi	c. 160-166 ,,
	Sivaskanda Sātakarṇi	c. 167-173 ,,
	Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi	c. 174-202 ,,
	Vajaya	c. 203-208 ,,
A.D. 210	Caṇḍa Sātakarṇi	c. 209-218 ,,
	Pulumāvi	c. 219-225 ,,
	Ikṣvākus	
Third Century A.D.	Cāṃtamūla I (2nd quarter of 3rd century).	
	Vīrapurisadata (3rd quarter of 3rd century).	
	Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla II (4th quarter of 3rd century).	
	Early Pallavas of Kāñcī	
	Father of Sivaskandavarman (4th quarter of 3rd century).	
c. 300 A.D.	Sivaskandavarman (1st quarter of 4th century).	
	Skandavarman	
c. 350 A.D.	Viṣṇugopa (Conflict with Samudragupta, about the middle of the fourth century).	

	Skandavarman
	Kumāraviṣṇu (I)
	Buddhavarman
	Kumāraviṣṇu (II)
	Skandavarman
A.D. 436-58	Siṃhavarman c. 436-460 A.D.
	Skandavarman
	Nandivarman
	Siṃhavarman
	Siṃhavarman
	Viṣṇugopa
	Siṃhavarman
	Siṃhaviṣṇu
c. A.D. 620	Mahendravarman (I) c. 600-630 A.D.

[B]

	Early Pallavas of the Nellore-Guntur regio
	Vīrakorcavarman
	Kumāraviṣṇu
	Skandavarman (I)
	Vīravarman
	Skandavarman (II)
	Siṃhavarman c. 500 A.D.
	Viṣṇugopavarman

[C]

	Bṛhatphalāyanas
c. 300 A.D.	Jayavarman
	Ānandas
c. 400 A.D.	Kandara
	Attivarman
	Dāmodaravarman (about the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth).

[D]

	Śālaṅkāyanas	
c. 350 A.D.	Devavarman	c. 320-345 A.D.
	Hastivarman	c. 345-370 ,,
	Nandivarman (I)	c. 370-395 ,,
	Caṇḍavarman	c. 395-420 ,,
	Nandivarman (II)	c. 420-445 ,,
	Skandavarman	c. 445-470 ,,
	Viṣṇukuṇḍins	
	Vikramahendra (Vikramendra I ?)	c. 500-520 A.D.
	Govindavarman	c. 520-535 ,,
c. 550 A.D.	Mādhavavarman I	c. 535-585 ,,
	[Mādhavavarman II	c. 585-615 ,,][1]
	Vikramendravarman I (II?)	c. 615-625 ,,
	Indravarman	c. 625-655 ,,
	Vikramendravarman II (III?)	c. 655-670 ,,

[1] If it is believed that Mādhavavarman II issued his charter as his grandfather's viceroy, his reign should be omitted and the succeeding reigns closed up.

[E]

	Early Kadambas of Mayūraśarman's Line	
c. 340 A.D.	Mayūraśarman	
	Kaṅgavarman	
400 A. D.	Bhagīratha	
	Raghu	
	Kākusthavarman	c. 405-35 A.D.
472 A.D.	Śāntivarman	
	Mṛgeśavarman	c. 470-90 ,,
545 A.D.	Ravivarman	c. 490-538 ,,
	Harivarman	c. 538-50 ,,

[F]

	Early Kadambas of Kṛṣṇavarman's Line
c. 450 A.D.	Kṛṣṇavarman I
c. 490 A.D.	Viṣṇuvarman I
	Siṃhavarman
c. 530 A.D.	Kṛṣṇavarman II
	Ajavarman
	Bhogivarman

[G]

	Early Kadambas : Miscellaneous
	Kumāravarman Māndhātṛvarman
About the middle of 6th cent. A.D.	Madhuvarman
	Dāmodara

[H]

	Kekayas
c. 450 A D.	Śivanandavarman

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

P. 5, l. 32. *Read*—between two Ānanda kings.

P. 9, ll. 2-3, 12, etc. *Read*—Jaggayyapeṭa ; *Read*—Nandigama. *L. 20.* *Omit*—middle and.

P. 16. *Read*—Cāṃtamūla I (second quarter of the third century A.D.) ; Virapurisadata (third quarter of the third century) ; Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla II (fourth quarter of the third century).

P. 20, l. 15. *Omit*—(Vāpiśrī ?). *Note*—As Vogel suggests, the name may be connected with names like *Bappikā*. *L. 25.* *Note*—It is significant that epithets like *virūpākhapati-mahāsena-parigahita* are applied to Cāṃtamūla I and not to his son and grandson.

P. 23, ll. 1-2. *Read*—Rudrasena I, II, III, IV. Rudrasiṃha I, II, III. *L. 30.* *Note*—*Vanavāsa* as a form of the name of Banavāsī or Vaijayantī is found in inscriptions and literature (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 278 ; *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, V, 23 ; XIV, 4).

P. 24, l. 21. *Read*—dated on the 10th day of the 6th fortnight of *varṣā*.

P. 25, ll. 18-19. *Note*—*Mātuka* has been supposed to be the same as the Nikāyas, corresponding to the *maiṭṭhāna* (*mātṛ-sthāna*, *i.e.*, matrices) of the Jains (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 107 ff. ; Law, *Mahāvīra*, p. 59).

P. 28, l. 1. *Read*—dated on the 13th day of the 6th fortnight of winter. *L. 10.* *Omit*—and other therīs. *L. 12.* *Omit*—that is, who belonged to. *L. 15.* *Read*—and also pious people of other countries (*cf.* *nānādesa-samāgatānaṃ*).

P. 29, l. 33. *Read*—the word in Indian literature. *Add*—The word *cīnapaṭṭa* is mentioned in the Pāli Buddhist works, *Apadāna* and *Milinda-pañho*, and also in the Canonical book called *Buddhavaṃsa* (p. 60), supposed to be a work of the 1st

cent. B.C. See *Ind. Cult.*, IV, p. 381. It is also mentioned in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.

P. 32, l. 10. Add—Dantapura is mentioned in some other Gaṅga records, *e.g.*, a grant of Madhukāmārṇava (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VIII, p. 181). Sometimes the name is written *Dantipura. L. 16. Note*—The Nallamalai range seems to have been known by the general name Śrīparvata.

P. 33, l. 25. Read—dated on the 5th day of the 6th fortnight of winter (*hemanta*).

P. 34, l. 15. Read—dated on the 10th day of the 8th fortnight of *varṣā. L. 28. Add*—A fragmentary pillar inscription dated in the 6th year of Virapurisadata has been discovered at Ramireddipalle not far from the Jaggayyapeṭa site.

P. 35. Note—The name Ehuvula may be compared with names like Haṃguṇavuḷa-Dēvana of a 7th century Darsi record (*A.R.S.I.E.*, 1933-34, p. 41).

P. 42, l. 1 Read—issued on the 1st day of the 1st fortnight of *hemanta*.

P. 45, l. 4. Note—According to Hemacandra's *Deśināmamālā*, *aviaṃ* means *uktaṃ* which signifies " speech."

P. 45, l. 2. Read—their own copper-plate grants. *L. 3, etc. Read*—Dāmodaravarman.

P. 56, l. 37. Add—Mr. V. S. Ramachandramurti has recently written a note on the inscription in the Kapoteśvara temple at Chezarla (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, XI, p. 43 ff.). A tentative reading of the record has been published in *S. Ind. Ins.*, VI, No. 594. The record belongs to Satsabhāmalla whose mother was the Mahādevī Avanitalāntavatī (?), dear daughter of Kandararāja. King Kandara is said to have belonged to the *mahāgotra* of the great sage Ānanda. He was the lord of " the Black Beṇṇā " (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇaveṇṇā or Krishna) in which the Andhra girls used to take their bath, of the Trikūṭa parvata, of the city called Kandarapura, and also of two *janapadas* (*janapada-dvitaya*). Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao thinks that this Trikūṭa-parvata is mentioned in the Ipur grant of Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman II as Trikūṭa-malaya, and identifies it with

Koṭappakoṇḍa near Kāvūr. One of Kandara's two *janapadas* may have been the district round the Trikūṭa hill and the other the district round Kandarapura (not yet identified). The banner of king Kandara is said to bear the representation of Golāṅgula (a species of monkey). As sometimes the banner and crest of a dynasty are found to be the same, it may not be impossible that the seals attached to the Gorantla and Mattepad plates bear the representation of a monkey. Prince Satsabhāmalla, daughter's son of king Kandara, appears to have been called Pṛthivī-yuvarāja, and is possibly also credited with victory in some battles at Dhānyakaṭa. The first case-ending in the epithet *pṛthivī-yuvarāja* and the epithet *kālīśvarasāravīraketu* (which is no doubt different from Kandara's epithet *golāṅgula-vijaya-ketana*) possibly suggest that the epithets in lines 2-4 of the record belong to Satsabhāmalla and not to his maternal grandfather Kandara. The seal of Satsabhāmalla's family bore the representation of Muraripu (Viṣṇu) on Garuḍa and its *ketana* or banner had the figure of a seated vulture (*gṛdhra*). May Kālīśvarasāravīra be the name of the *vigraha* whose figure was the crest of Satsabhāmalla's family ?

P. 58, l. 19. Note—May *Vakeśvara* be a mistake for *Tryaṃbakeśvara ? Ll. 24-25. Note*—According to Coomaraswamy (*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 77), the Kapoteśvara temple (4th century A. D.) at Chezarla in the Kistna district is " a structural *caitya*-hall originally Buddhist and later connected to Hindu usage." May it have been built by Dāmodaravarman, the only known Buddhist king of the locality, who ruled about the close of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century ?

P. 62, l. 29. Read—supplanted by the Pallavas.

P. 78, l. 25. Note—Some scholars think that the grant contains a date in year 138 which should be referred to the Gupta era (Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 2036), while others think that it is dated in the king's 7th regnal year. The reading and suggestion of the former are very doubtful.

P. 80, l. 10. Note—This is the Kiṇḍeppa grant published by Mr. M. Narasimham in *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VIII, p. 160. The Siripuram grant of the same king (issued from

Devapura, possibly the chief town of Devarāṣṭra) was also published by the same scholar in *Bhāratī* (Telugu), September, 1931. The suggestion that the Siripuram grant is dated in year 8 of the Śaka era cannot be accepted. *L. 17. Add*—The Tandivada plates (*Journ. Or. Res.*, IX, p. 188 ff.) issued from Piṣṭapura in the 46th year of Pṛthivī-mahārāja, son of Vikramendra and grandson of Mahārāja Raṇadurjaya, have been ascribed to the first half of the 7th century. The kings mentioned in this record appear to have ruled after the kings of the other records already discussed. Pṛthivī-mahārāja may have been the king of Piṣṭapura overthrown by Pulakeśin II.

P. 81, l. 2. Read—beginning of the 6th century. *L. 14. Read*—takes to have been.

P. 89, l. 39. Add—Note that a record of Harjjara, an Assam king of the 9th cent., is dated in Gupta 510 (*Ind. Cult.* V, 114).

P. 112, l. 40. Add—Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggests that the struggle between Indravarman and the Gaṅga king Indra should be placed before the Calukya conquest of Piṣṭapura (*Outline of the History of Kaliṅga* [offprint], p. 22). I do not think it absolutely necessary ; but the suggestion may be reconciled with our chronology if we think that Mādhavavarman II did not rule (see *above*, p. 133 ff.) and give Vikramendravarman I a shorter reign. In that case, Indravarman may be placed in *c.* 487-517. His Gaṅga contemporary would then be an earlier Indravarman who reigned in Gaṅga years 87 and 91.

Add.—A word about Fleet's chronology of the Eastern Cālukyas, which we have accepted in this work. Fleet thinks that Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana's reign began, as his brother's viceroy, in 615 (*Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 12). But his date 888 as the first year of Cālukya-Bhīma I has now been provad wrong by the Attili grant (C. P. No. 14 of 1917-18) which gives the king's coronation date on *Monday, April 17, 892*. According to the Chendalur grant (*Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 236 f.) there was a lunar eclipse in Vaiśākha-pūrṇimā in Maṅgiyuvarāja's 2nd year which, according to Fleet, falls in 672-73. Actually however there was no lunar eclipse in that *tithi* between the years 666 and 682. It is therefore not impossible that the beginning of Viṣṇuvardhana's reign was

a few years later than 615. Mr. M. S. Sarma thinks that he began to rule "Veṅgī" in 633 (*Journ. Or. Res.*, IX, p. 17 ff.), while Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao thinks it to be 624 (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, IX, iv, p. 1 ff.). Historical arguments in support of both the theories are however weak. Both the scholars rely on the doubtful evidence of the Kopparam grant (*above*, pp. 117-18). Krishna Rao follows Lakshmana Rao and thinks that Pulakeśin II conquered "Veṅgī" in 611; Sarma follows Hultzsch and takes 632 as the date of the conquest. In my opinion the former theory is *improbable* and the latter is just *possible*. But Pulakeśin had to fight with two generations of Pallava kings and no doubt led several expeditions to the east coast country. There is no guarantee that the date of the conquest coincided with that of the grant. If however Fleet's epoch is wrong, one of these dates should be examined astronomically, because according to the Chipurupalle grant there was a lunar eclipse in Śrāvaṇa-pūrṇimā in Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana's 18th year, and after 632 (date of the grant according to Fleet) the nearest lunar eclipse on that *tithi* were in 641 and 650. In my opinion, the latter date is too late, as it would make a very long difference between the dates of the Polamuru grants of Mādhavavarman I and of Jayasiṃha I. Moreover, the astronomical details in the Chendalur grant of Maṅgiyuvarāja supports Krishna Rao's theory, not Sarma's. The Musinikonda grant, we should notice, is supposed to support Sarma. It gives the chronogram date read as *svādita* (*va* = 4, *da* = 8, *ta* = 6), *i.e.*, Śaka 684 = 762 A.D. as following in Viṣṇuvardhana(III)'s reign (*A. R. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1917, p. 116; for the chronogram system, Burnell, *S. Ind. Pal.*, p. 76). Viṣṇuvardhana III ruled in 709-46 (Fleet), or 719-55 (Krishna Rao) or 727-63 (Sarma). But since *ṭa*, *ḍa*, *ḍha*, and *da* may be confused in early-mediaeval Telugu script, Fleet and Krishna Rao may read *svāḍita* and *svāḍhita* respectively to suit their theories, *ḍa* being = 3 and *ḍha* = 4. Another difficulty is with the Terala grant (No. 80 of 1929-30) giving the date in the Śaka year Bahudhānya and Kārttika-śukla-pañcamī on Sunday (A.D. 739 or 859) as falling in the 5th year of a Viṣṇuvardhana (III or IV), which does not suit any of

the three theories. *Year* 5 may be a wrong reading. The problem cannot be solved in the present state of our knowledge; but of the three dates 615, 624 and 633, the possibility of 624 as the first year of Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhan's rule at Piṣṭapura seems to be just a little more than the other two.

P. 114, l. 35. Add—The Chicacole grant of Indravarman (Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 1474) dated in year 128 of the Gaṅga era refers to a lunar eclipse in Mārgaśīrṣa-paurṇamāsī. According to Dr. Majumdar's theory, this year falls in 678-85 A.D. But there was no lunar eclipse in Mārgaśīrṣa-paurṇamāsī in the period between 673 and 689 A.D.

P. 116, l. 30. Read—end of the 7th or somewhere.

P. 117, l. 4. Note—Not Veṅgī, but Bezwāḍa, however, seems to have been the capital at the time.

P. 124, l. 31. Add—In this connection, it is also interesting to note, that in Telugu works like *Sōmadēvarājyam* (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, III, p. 113) the Kākatīyas are represented as descendants of a certain Mādhavavarman of the lunar race.

P. 126, l. 36. Read—Veṅgī Ten Hundred. *Add*—See *Journ. Or. Res.*, XI, p. 221 ff. The district is sometimes referred to Veṅgī-sahasra or Veṅgīpura-viṣaya-grāma-sahasra. *Grāma* = that which is the subject of an assessment (*Abhidhāna-rājendra*).

P. 129, l. 5. Note—As generally believed, this Mādhava may have been Dharmarāja's younger brother. *Ll. 6-8. Note*—The suggestion is possible if Trivara had a long reign and if Śailodbhava Dharmarāja may be placed about the middle of the seventh century. Scholars like R. D. Banerji and D. R. Bhandarkar are inclined to identify Sainyabhīta-Mādhavavarman II (son of Ayaśobhīta, son of Sainyabhīta-Madhavavarman I) of the Ganjam (Gupta year 300 = A.D. 320) and Khurda grants with Sainyabhīta II-Mādhavavarman-Śrīnivāsa (son of Ayaśobhīta, *born in the family of* Sainyabhīta I) of the Buguda and Parikud grants. Some scholars however point out that the latter grants should be placed centuries later on (doubtful) grounds of palaeography and on the strength of the passage *tasy=āpi vaṃśe* with reference to the relation between Sainyabbīta I and his successor

Ayaśobhīta (R. C. Majumdar, *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, X, p. 1 ff.). But the striking resemblance in the genealogy furnished by both sets of the records cannot be explained away. Śailodbhava Ayaśobhīta may have been an adopted son of Sainyabhīta I. We cannot therefore be definite on this point until further evidence is forthcoming. If Sainyabhīta-Mādhavavarman II-Śrīnivāsa reigned in 620 A.D., his grandson may be placed in the middle of the seventh century. Dr. Bhandarkar's contention that the Kondedda and Puri grants of Dharmarāja are dated in Gupta year 312 = 632 A.D. (*List*, Nos. 2040 and 2041) is however clearly wrong ; because the Parikud grant of his father Ayaśobhīta-Madhyamarāja (*ibid*, No. 1675) shows that the intervening reign covered more than 25 years. *L. 12 ff. Note.*—In *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p. 19 ff., Prof. V. V. Mirashi accepts my Viṣṇukuṇḍin chronology, and believes that Tīvara of Kośala reigned in 530-50 A.D. *L. 35. Add.*—*Cf.* the passage referring to the *kaumāra-keli* of Lakṣmaṇasena with the females of Kaliṅga in the Madhainagar grant (*Ins. Beng.*, III, p. 111); also " who fulfilled the ardent wishes of the Gauḍa women," etc., applied to Yuvarāja Keyūravarṣa in the Bilhari inscription (Ray, *Dynastic History*, II, p. 760).

P. 134, l. 3. Note.—The god on the hill at Koṭappakoṇḍa (near Kāvūr in the Narasaraopet taluka of the Guntur district) is called Trikōṭīśvara in inscriptions. Mr. Krishna Rao suggests that Trikōṭīśvara = Trikūṭēśvara, lord of the Trikūṭa hill, and that Trikūṭa-malaya = Trikuta hill, *malai* (the Dravidian original of *malaya*) meaning " a hill." See *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, XI, p. 45. The suggestion does not appear improbable. The acceptance of this theory would necessitate the omission of the reign of Mādhavavarman II from the table at p. 112 above.

P. 140, l. 4 ff.—I now believe that Patañjali is much later than the Śuṅga king, and *iha puṣyamitraṃ yājayāmaḥ*, etc., of the *Mahābhāṣya* are merely " stock instances."

P. 176, l. 15.—The evidence of the Penukonda grant is supported by that of the Pura grant (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A.R., 1930, p. 259).

P. 180, l. 32. Read—Parameśvaravarman I c. 670-90, according to Dubreuil.

P. 185, l. 1. Read—yuddheṣu.

P. 192, l. 21. Note.—According to Manu (XI, 35), the five great sins are *brahma-hatyā surā-pānaṃ steyaṃ gurv-aṅganā-gamaḥ, mahānti pātakāny=ahuḥ saṃsargaś=c=āpi taiḥ saha.* Kullūka says that *steya=brāhmaṇa-suvarṇa-haraṇa, guru=pitā,* and *saṃsarga* is for one year only. The *Mahabhā.* (XIII, 130, 38) also gives a list of five great sins in the *śloka, brahmahā c=aiva goghnaś=ca paradāra rataś=ca yaḥ, aśraddhadhānaś=ca naraḥ striyaṃ yaś=c=opajīvati.*

P. 193, l. 10. Add—The next *parihāra* means exemption from taxes, forced labour, and *koṃjala* the meaning of which is not known. *A-paramparā-balivadha-gàhaṇa* has already been explained.

P. 200, l. 7. Read—were to be.

P. 207, l. 34. Read—Arabic.

P. 212, l. 9. Add—Another copper-plate grant of Siṃhavarman dated in the month of Śrāvaṇa of his tenth year has been discovered in Nellore Dist. (*An.Rep.S Ind.Ep.*, 1934-35, p. 30). Siṃhavarman, son of Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopa, grandson of Skandavarman and great-grandson of Vīravarman, granted with the object of securing long life, strength of arm and victory a village called Vilavaṭṭi in Muṇḍarāṣṭra to a Brāhmaṇa named Viṣṇuśarman who belonged to the Gautama gotra and Chandoga śākhā. The seal bears a couchant bull facing the proper left with another figure (said to look like an anchor or boat) above it.

P. 216, l. 37. Add—Dr. N. Venkataramanayya has recently suggested (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, X, p. 89 ff.) that Karṇāṭa=Kanna viṣaya or Kannāḍu, the original home of the Sātavāhanas at the foot of the Śrīśaila. According to him, Kanna=Karṇa, an abbreviated form of Sātakarṇa, *i.e.*, Sātakarṇi. He thinks that the kingdom of the Sātakarṇis became known as Karnāta from the name of their original home.and became afterwards restricted to the western part of their kingdom where their rule lingered for a longer period than elsewhere. The suggestion

may not be unreasonable, and the name Karṇāṭa may have actually been derived from that of the Kanna viṣaya. But as there is no early evidence to support the theory, it is impossible to be definite on this point in the present state of our knowledge. The equation Kanna = Śātakarṇi and the suggestion that the original home of the Śātavāhanas was at the foot of the Śriśaila cannot be conclusive until further evidence is forthcoming.

P. 227, l. 26. Read—Nanda kings.

P. 229, l. 28. Read—mentioned in. *L. 29. Read*—pillar.

P. 230, ll. 8, 23. Read—fig tree.

P. 254, l. 5. Add—Verse 18 of the Davangere grant (*Mys Arch.Surv.*, 1933, p. 116) is supposed to suggest that Kuṇḍagiri or Miliguṇḍagiri was Raghu's capital. But the verse seems to mean that a hill-fort called Milikuṇḍa (near Asandī?) repulsed an attack of Raghu, but was conquered by Ravi.

P. 255, l. 24. Read—Gupta kings.

P. 262, l. 10. Read—due to. *L. 32. Read*—and to provide.

P. 267, l. 6. Read—Halsi grant.

P. 269, l. 13. Read—A *paṭī* or piece.

P. 273, l. 16. Add—A record of Ravivarman dated on a certain bright fortnight day of Madhu (Caitra) in the king's 34th year has been discovered by a lawyer of Davangere (*Mys.Arch.Surv.*, 1933, p. 109 ff). It begins with *siddhaṃ*, and a verse (Praharṣiṇī metre) in adoration to *Sarvajña-Sarvalokanātha* which possibly means Śiva. The record is interesting as the verses describing the king are composed in a developed Kāvya style. It records a grant of lands for (the continuation of) worship at a *Siddhāyatana* or Śaiva temple possibly at Asandī (identified with a village of the same name in Kadur taluka near Ajjampur), and for the prosperity of the *saṅgha* (ascetics belonging to the temple?), at the instigation of Haridatta who may be the *śreṣṭhin* of that name mentioned in the Bannahalli grant. The lands granted were at Asandī, and at Kōramaṅgā near the boundary-stone (*upalaka*) of a bridge. One *nivartana* (by royal measure) of granted land was in a field, near the bridge to the south of Asandī. The king granted, before his Sāmantas, also one *nivartana* at Samaṇa (sic. *samaya* =

extremity?) of the bridge and three *nivartanas* (by royal measure) at Vēṭikauṭa. The localities mentioned may have been in the vicinity of Asandī. The identification of Kōramaṅgā with Koramaṅgala 8 miles from Hassan and 40 miles away is doubtful.

P. 277, l. 21. Read—verses.

P. 280, l. 7. Omit—during.

P. 285, l. 30. Read—Sātavāhana contemporary.

P. 287, l. 14. Read—north-eastern.

P. 301, l. 15. Read—refer. *L. 25. Read*—Durvinīta-Koṅgaṇi-vṛddha,

P. 316, l. 6. Read—Davangere.

P. 325, l. 16. Read—4th-5th centuries.

P. 330, ll. 37-39. Read—*yo[nā]ka. Note*—*Karoḍi* (Sanskrit: *karoṭi*) means "a cup."

P. 353, l. 13. Read—received in 1714 A.D.

P. 358, l. 20. Read—drowned in.

P. 366, l. 21. Read—wherein. *L. 26. Read*—by fire.

P. 367, l. 33. Read—wherein.

P. 382, l. 30. Read—to be the *Gītika* variety of the Miśragaṇa metre. *L. 31. Read*—115.

P. 391, Read—*c.* 400 A.D.—Dāmodaravarman.

P. 392. Read—*c.* 350 A.D.—Hastivarman. *c.* 340 A.D.—Mayūraśarman. 400 A.D.—Raghu. 472 A.D.—Mṛgeśavarman. 545 A.D.—Harivarman.

P. 398, l. 30. Read—proved wrong.

P. 399, l. 19. Read—lunar eclipses. *L. 27. Read*—as falling.

INDEX

E

F

G

H

R

T

U

V

W

Y